The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY,] We are verily guilty concerning our brother * * * therefore, is this distress come upon us. [EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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Slave-Holder's Department.

A CALM APPEAL FROM THE SOUTH TO THE NORTH.

"This picture of the consequences of *disunion* cannot be too highly colored, or too often exhibited. Every man who loves peace, every man who loves his country, every man who loves liberty, ought to have it before his eyes, that he may cherish in his heart a due attachment to the *Union of America, and be able to set a due value on the means of preserving it.*"—MADISON.

The south has as deep an interest in the Union as the north. Certainly no State is more attached to it than Virginia; because the Potomac may be the dividing line, and she will thus become the border State. Her rivers whould bristle with entrenchments, and her fields be turned into battle grounds. With these feelings she, and with all the patriots of the south, would commune, at the present crisis, in the kindest spirit with her brethern of the north.

The only rock on which the Union may probably split, is the very one which now solicits our attention. Nothing has created such marked interest in different sections of the country—nothing is so well calculated to inflame the sensibility of the south, as an interference with her domestic institutions. It is not a mere question of property, which *may ultimately* be at stake—but it *may be* her safety; the very lives of her wives and her children. And yet it is this very topic which the fanatics at the north, the hypocrites who aspire to the character of saints and philanthropists are most apt to meddle with. It is the nerve, in which *we* most feel, and which *they* are most disposed to pierce. The weak among *them* are seduced to engage in its outrageous agitation by sympathy, and the knaves are incited by the vilest passions; one man by the love of distinction; another by the want of bread. Fanaticism seizes to convulse society, and raise up a crusade against the south. Tappan contributes his money, to acquire notoriety.*—May seizes the opportunity of displaying himself in a public assembly. And more shameful still, a foreign emissary is audacious enough to plant his foot in New England to disturb the peace of the south! The pulpit, the press, and popular meetings, are all employed to promote their nefarious agitations. Papers are printed for gratuitous circulation—the public mail is employed to distribute them—sometimes a lurking emissary steals into the south, to administer their poison.

Perhaps not one citizen of the north, out of 10,000, has seen these incendiary publications, nor is he aware of the danger which they are calculated to produce in the south. But she knows the peril, and she feels the mischief. *She* is, indeed, prepared to do all in her power to keep off their emissaries and to arrest their publications. But it is scarcely practicable for her to shut up every possible avenue of communication. Some poisonous missile may yet pass the barrier with all the precaution she may employ—with all the fiery vengeance which she is prepared to wreak upon the head of the intruding incendiary.

We have no words adequately to express the resentment which the south feels towards these fanatics. The outrage is intolerable; and is without excuse. Do these incendiaries plead that they are Americans, and that they have a common interest in the character of the whole Union? The pretext is frivolous. When the north entered into the present Union with the southern States, it was agreed that, as members of the confederacy, they would have nothing at all to say to our ownership in the slaves, or to their emancipation. They guarantee to us indeed a representation founded in a certain proportion upon this species of population. They also bound themselves to deliver up our fugitive slaves. But beyond these two provisions the Constitution is perfectly silent. It is no American question. It concerns only the south and the southwest. It is an interference with our domestic institutions, from which they are politically debarred by the very theory of the Constitution. If there be any thing wrong or dishonorable in the retention of slaves, it is confined to ourselves. As citizens of the United States, they have nothing to say to it. They have no *political right*, clearly—and it is as certain they have no *moral* right. It is an evil which they do not understand. The remedy is left to our own discretion. It is best understood by ourselves. These men are not only impertinent, but pernicious intermeddlers. They not only bring mischief upon the whites, but they aggravate the very evils which they profess to remedy. They strengthen the cord of slavery itself. They compel us to treat them with a severity, which is as painful to the slave as it is irksome to the owner. A regard for our own security must impose upon them additional restrictions—and in case these vile miscreants should ever succeed in raising rebellion among them, they alone will be held responsible, in the eyes of God and man, for all the blood which will flow. It is thus that they are doing serious mischief, both to the whites and to the blacks—aggravating the very evil which they profess to palliate. Every sane man in the northern States, requires no argument to convince him that the project of abolition, and intermixture with the whites, is too revolting to all our sensibilities, and too pernicious to the very safety of the south, to be entertained for a single moment.

What, then, do these madmen desire? To excite a spirit of dissatisfaction among the slaves? to shed our blood? and to cause torrents of theirs to flow in the south?

The south, therefore, appeals in the most respectful spirit to the north. Will you permit these vile fanatics to go on in their audacious career? Will you suffer your soil to be used for the purpose of planting the lever to agitate ours? We call upon you to interfere. As citizens of the same republic; as bound to carry out in good faith the theory of the compact which binds us together, we beseech you to put down these incendiaries. What would you say, if your own operatives were to become discontented and rebellious—threatening your houses with the torch and your families with the knife—and if *we* were to erect presses in our own bosom to print and circulate papers to blow them into a flame? Would you not call upon us to interfere for their suppression? And may we not call upon you in the like spirit? We pray you also to mark the discontent which is gradually spreading in the south. She detests your incendiaries. She will wreak the earliest vengeance upon their heads, if ever they come within our jurisdiction. We believe that the greater part of your own citizens are opposed to their nefarious projects—but we call upon you to give us the clearest evidence of their sympathy and support. For want of this active sentiment, there are some men who are pleased to suspect your sincerity, and to press their own scheme of disunion. In fact, are *you* not beginning to see the danger, and to tremble for the consequences? Many a southern heart, that loves the Union as its dearest life-blood, begins to quail under the prospect. Many a generous patriot, who loves you, is already beginning to ask, "Why do we not see our friends in the north come forth to aid us to put down these fanatics, by the utmost force of public opinion? to call meetings, and denounce, with all the force of indignant eloquence, and in all the majesty of crowding multitudes, the miserable fanatics who are flooding the south with their poison. Why do they not close their pulpits against them? Why do they not forbid all intercourse, either social or commercial, with the disturbers of our peace? Why, above all, does not Massachusetts, with whom Virginia sympathized so keenly in the days of her Boston port bill, drive that audacious fereigner from her bosom, who is grossly abusing the rights of hospitality, to throw our country into confusion? It is outrageous enough for Tappan for Garrison to be throwing fire-bands into the south—but for that impertinent intruder, Thompson, to mingle in our institutions, for that foreigner, who has nothing *American* about him, in name, interest, or principle—the outrage exceeds all the bounds of patience.

We say, then, (with the calm and considerate Editor of the Charleston Patriot,) Let the system of agitation be put down *in all its branches and divisions—in each and every one of its means and appliances.* Let public opinion at the north raise its terrible warnings, as well to him who agitates by means of the sorcery of rhetoric, as to him who agitates by means of the press. Let the gifted writer, who inflames by the dangerous logic of the passions, be silenced by the same moral power, the indignation of the people, that drives into obscurity the sophist who lifts himself into notoriety by an abuse of the sympathies of his audience. In this way *both classes of disorganizers* will be driven from the vantage ground of their influence, won by arts of imposture, if they are not speedily swept into oblivion.

Such is the spirit in which many of the southern people would now adress their brethern of the north. But there is not a considerate man among us, who does not look forward to that prospect before us with much solicitude. We might calmly wait for the fanaticism of the north, to cure itself, according to the general philosophy of that disease. But in the mean time the evil may seriously reach our own families. Before the heated iron has time to cool, the powder magazine may be set on fire. The fanaticism of Salem carried off many an innocent victim before it abated. Besides, is it so certain, that if the fanatics of the north are left *quietly* to work their way, they may not spread the sphere of their mischief—multiply their converts—extend their operations, and defy public opinion itself? Take the other side of the medal: The friends of the Union witness, with deep regret, the discontent which is spreading in the south, and the uses which are made of it by those who have other designs to effect. Is their nothing in all these movements to make our northern brethern reflect seriously upon the duty which is before them?

The south, therefore, calls upon the north to put forth her strength, and assist us in putting down the *emissaries* of the fanatics and their *poisonous presses*—and, moreover, to keep off their hands from the District of Columbia. It is neutral ground with which neither party is permitted to meddle. "Pass not the Iberus, (as the Romans warned the Carthaginians,) Touch not Saguntum." We warn you, in the most ingenuous but respectful terms, touch not the District—disturb not the order of things which has been established there since the foundation of the government—violate none of the rights of property which belongs to her people, originally the citizens of two slave States, and protected by their laws. Open no asylum in the slave region, and on the borders of Virginia, for fugitive slaves or incendiary emissaries. The federal constitution never could have intended to convey any jurisdiction to Congress over this delicate and agitating subject. Beware, then, we beseech you! You are kindling a flame, which must consume the sacred temple of the Union itself. The south has taken her stand on this subject, from which she will not depart. She will not permit the discussion for one moment of such petitions. She will consider the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia as forbidden ground in debate. Here they are on a footing as firm and occupy a position as strong, as they do when they reject interference, in an open manner, with the institution of slavery within their limits. They may with safety point to the constitution, and demand whether agitation can be justified and upheld by the authority of Congress, and whether it does not impair the securities to slave property which constitute a part of that instrument. They may not only allege the evil *tendency* of entertaining discussions and receiving petitions on this subject, but they may take higher grounds, and say that should Congress, through a misguided majority, acting under fanatical impulses, make any declaration affecting the rights of the slave-owners in the District of Columbia, either now or prospectively, it would be in effect a sentence of confiscation, bounded, it is true, as to place, but co-extensive with the limits of the Union.

The south, then, warns the north. The crisis may increase. The interests of the north may soon suffer as well as those of the south. The intercourse of her citizens with the southern States will be submitted to unpleasant restrictions, from the effects of the suspicion which is now excited. The public mail will be fettered. Our own safety will compel us to drive off the most obnoxious people of color, who will become public nuisances in the northern cities. Commerce will be gradually fettered. It will first be prohibited with all the abolitionists—and who knows but the indignant spirit of an incensed people may extend the restriction to all the merchants of the north?

Must we go on with this dark penciling, until outrage being added to outrage, and excitement kindling with excitement, the feelings which bound us together like a band of brothers may be ultimately exchanged for those of deepest animosity, and of awful alienation? When the south will be compelled to say to the north, as Mr. Jefferson's first draft of the Declaration of Independence said to our then British brethren: "We might have been a free and great people together, but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity; be it so, since they will have it, the road to happiness and to glory is open to us too; we will tread it apart from them, and we must then acquiese in the necessity which denounces our separation."

But, no—Countrymen of the north! dear citizens of a common country, let us banish all such gloomy anticipations. Let us dissipate all dangers, and rally firmer than ever round the Union. The great majority of you—all the men of talents, wealth, and distinction, are with us. All we ask, is, for them to show it now, and put down, forever, these wanton fanatics—and, with them, the only rock which threatens our blessed Union. Let us trust to each other—and treat us as we would treat you—sympathize with our situation and put down the fanatics. Rally, tken, around the Union, in fact and in sentiment—and let us repeat, as was once eloquently said by the illustrious Madison:—

"No, my countrymen; shut your ears against this unhallowed language. Shut your hearts against the poison which it conveys; the kindred blood which flows in the veins of American citizens, the mingled blood which they have shed in defense of their sacred rights, consecrate their union, and excite horror at the idea of their becoming aliens, rivals, enemies."—*Richmond Enquirer.*

*The Enquirer mistakes entirely the motives of Mr. Tappan. As for notoriety he has had enough of it long ago. He is not ambitious of the world's honor or applause. His highest ambition is *to do his duty*, i. e. what he *considers* his duty, however much it may cost him, either on the score of feeling, reputation, money, or any thing else. It is a pity that such a moral hero should spend his strength in "wrestling with the air," or in doing what is equally useless, and a thousand times more dangerous.—*Eds. Jour. Commerce.*

Dough-Face Department.

TRAINING OF THE UTICA MOB.

Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up
To such a sudden flood of mutiny.—SHAKSPEARE.

It is remarkable that no mob has ever attacked the abolitionists except after special training by politicians who had something to hope from the favor of the south. The people of whom mobs are composed, or rather, who are made the cat's paws of popular violence, care not a rush for the abolition of slavery, and if left to themselves would as soon think of attacking the phrenologists as the abolitionists. It is to the editors of a venal press, to the expectants of office, in the shape of congressmen, judges, postmasters, &c., that we are to look for the cause of these frequent and shameful outrages. These worthies are enraged at anything which clouds their prospects. They immediately resort to false representations, and the more ill informed portion of the community are the sufferers, being duped to believe that their country will be served by their fighting against the bulwarks of their own liberties.

We have it in our power to give a correct history of the measures used to excite the mob which recently disgraced the city of Utica. The "proceedings" of the several mob meetings have already appeared in the papers. Along with them we shall give the SPEECHES of the grand wire-pullers, faithfully taken down in short hand on the spot. The reader will not fail to see the art and tact of the managers. By flaming, portentous handbills, they got together that class of the population least informed on the subject of abolition. They set themselves up as *peace-makers*. They are *opposed to slavery*—but there is a terrible excitement, and to allay it the Convention must if possible be prevented. First they propose mild means: then when the spirit is sufficiently raised, they hint at force—which, kind souls, they would prevent if they could, but alas! they fear they cannot!

They alleged, too, that the Convention was a *political* measure! designed, of course, to injure their presidential candidate. Let the south understand this, and judge of the sincerity of their good friends, the mobocrats.

Act I.

From the Utica Observer.

Proceedings of a meeting of the citizens, [NOT ABOLITIONISTS,] *for the purpose of expressing their sentiments in relation to the proposed Anti-Slavery Convention, to be held in this city on the 21st instant.*

At a meeting of the citizens of Utica convened at Miller's Hall, Oct 8th, 1835, pursuant to public notice signed by a great number of citizens; on motion of Rudolph Snyder, Esq. the Hon. Chester Hayden, was appointed Chairman, *pro. tem.* and Kellogg Hulburt, Esq., Secretary, for the purpose of organizing said meeting.

On motion it was resolved, that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to report the names of suitable persons to be appointed the officers of the meeting.

The chair appointed Rudolph Snyder, A. G. Dauby, Thomas E. Clarke, Thomas M. Francis and John Wells, said committee.

The committee retired and after consultation reported the following named persons as proper to constitute the officers of the meeting, viz:—

The Hon. Joseph Kirkland, Mayor, as President; the Hon. Chester Hayden, John C. Devereux, Thomas H. Hubbard and Kellogg Hulburt as Vice-Presidents; and A. G. Dauby, and John H. Ostrum, Secretaries.

On motion the report of the said committee was adopted, and the officers above named were declared duly appointed.

The meeting being organized, on motion, Chester Hayden, Rudolph Snyder, E. S. Barnum, John H. Ostrum and A. G. Dauby, were appointed to draft and report resolutions, expressive of the sense of the meeting on the subject of the proceedings of the abolitionists. The committe retired for deliberation, and after a short absence returned and by their chairman reported the following preamble and resolutions which were read, and the question being put upon them separately, they were passed unanimously.

The citizens of Utica here assembled pursuant to public notice, having seen with regret and disapprobation, that by a public call this city has been selected as a place for the meeting of a State Convention of the "friends of immediate abolition," for the purpose of forming a "State Anti-Slavery Society"—deem it a solemn duty which they owe to themselves as good citizens, to the people of the north as well as the south, and especially to the character of the city of Utica, temperately but frankly and firmly to disclose their sentiments relative to the proposed convention, and the object of its call. Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the deep and settled conviction of this meeting that, whatever may be the motives of the advocates of *immediate abolition*—be their purposes "charitable or wicked"—benevolent or malign, the course which they have been and are pursuing on this dangerous and exciting subject, must, in the estimation of enlightened and reflecting men, denominate them the practical, though we trust, undesigned enemies of the most valued institutions of their own country; of her happy experiment of free government; emphatically, of the slave population of the south; and of the human race.

Resolved, That this conviction is based upon what we hold to be the undoubted dictate of sound judgment; that the measures of the abolitionists are a clear and explicit infringement of the spirit of the federal constitution, and tend with unerring certainty, to the dissolution of this Union; and consequently to the extinguishment of all hope of free government among mankind; while they necessarily increase the rigors of that servitude which they affect to alleviate.

Resolved, nevertheless, That we confide, under Divine Providence, in the patriotism and deliberate good sense of our fellow-citizens of the non-slave-holding States, that such measures, or the views from which they emenate, will never become so general as to jeopardize the Union of these States, or the progress of freedom in the world.

Resolved, That while we are disposed to extend charity to its utmost tension in favor of the *motives* of the abolitionists, yet that we cannot, without shutting our eyes to the clear light of evidence, but consider them, if honest, as under the influence of an infatuation, not less dangerous to the well-being of our common country in all her great interests, nor less hostile, in effect to her constitution of government, than the assaults of open and avowed foes.

Resolved, therefore, That the citizens here assembled, hold it entirely consistent with the most liberal spirit of hospitality to protest, both for themselves and a vast majority of their fellow-citizens, as they now solemnly do, against the assemblage of said convention in this city—and they deem it due to the character of the city of Utica, as, though a small yet patriotic portion of the republic, to declare that the holding of such convention within her limits will be in contempt of her wishes, and repugnant to their feelings as citizens, disposed to sustain, as well in its spirit as its letter, the constitution of their country.

Resolved, nevertheless, That should the said convention persist in assembling pursuant to the published call—and against our solomn protest, we trust that its members will not be cheered by the presence or countenance of those who do not concur in their views, and we recommend to our citizens to stand entirely aloof from its proceedings.

On motion, adjourned.

JOSEPH KIRKLAND, President.
CHESTER HAYDEN,
JOHN C. DEVEREUX,
KELLOGG HULBURT,
THOMAS H. HUBBARD, } Vice-Pres'ts.
A. G. DAUBY,
JOHN H. OSTROM, } Sec's.

[Reported for the Emancipator.]

SPEECH OF WM. G. TRACY, ESQ.

The preamble and resolutions having been read as above, Wm. G. Tracy, Esq. said, It seems proper that these resolutions should not go forth without some remarks upon the occasion, and propriety of having them passed. It is no ordinary time, sir. The spirit of this Union has gone abroad throughout the whole of our happy land! The north has been at times excited upon questions which have agitated all its citizens. We have seen States at one time and another threatening to sunder this Union, and we now see half of the land excited, fearing that their domestic relations are at every moment in danger, and they are alarmed at every breath they draw, from a cause which has been put in operation by a few of their brethren at the north. Does it not become us of the north, constituted as we are, when we know that the people of the south have their homes endangered by the mistaken views of some of our citizens, to say to them, we are your friends; and if called we will go to your fire-sides to defend you. (Cheers.) This is the feeling of the north. Whenever a servile insurrection shall commence at the south, the best blood of the north will be spilt in her defence. Is there a man here who would not buckle on his armor and go? (Cheers.) And sir, at this time they need that we should tell them, we are your friends. We do not wish to have them hear that a convention has been held in the State of New-York. Is there any thing wrong in this, sir? when alarm seizes the whole south; and also to say to those around us who are causing this alarm, we believe in the right of free discussion, but in prostituting that right we pray you to desist. All questions which are not questions of positive and imminent duty we pray you to let alone. Do not agitate subjects which alarm and endanger the whole Union. May we not hope when we thus assemble, temperately (!) and boldly express our sentiments of the impropriety of assembling, they will hear us. This meeting will show them that it is not in anger we address them—we are the friends of the Union, the friends of freedom, and hope that one day our land shall be happy in freedom, and the wrongs they complain of shall cease. We entreat them to stay their hand. We hear them say, religion, humanity, and duty press them forward. But when was it ever deemed a duty for a freeman of our citizens to undertake at one blow to change all the forms and institutions of his country? When was it ever known that at one instant a nation started from slaves into freemen? Now, sir, we know that it is not to fortuitous circumstances, nor alone to the bravery of our ancestors that we are indebted for our freedom, but to the hand of Providence, which by a susecession of provisions for centuries, prepared the way for the establishment of the government of this people. It was, sir, that the arts and sciences had been carried to an extent never before witnessed in any nation before our ancestors. The pilgrims were men, all of whom had felt the blessings of education, and believed that it was necessary that their children should enjoy the same. They practised the plan for a century and a half, and would make every man a reader and a thinker. It was this that made us freemen. In the history of nations, there is no such thing as a people ground down with slavery, becoming freemen all at once.

Is it not madness to think that at one blow you can make citizens of two millions and a half of slaves? When New York became a free State it was by 35 years of policy. A course of measures was taken. Our legislature first enacted laws for the extinction of slavery at some future day. It was made a duty for the master to teach his slaves. This was the first measure. The next was that they laid down the practical belief of this people, that men who had been enslaved till they were 30 years of age were incapable of freedom. Did the legislature turn their backs to this subject? No! They enacted laws that those who were born after a certain period should be free. May we not hope that laws will be passed throughout the southern States of a similar kind. I believe, sir, that the whole south at some day will be glad to emancipate every slave upon the American soil. I trust in God that the time will come, that measures every day will be hastening the event, but *we* are not the men to do it. We should alarm the fears of the master, and the slave would be chained closer. It becomes us as good citizens to assure the whole south that we have no fellow-feeling with this misled benevolence, which has called the convention we deprecate. I rejoice that this people have assembled here in their strength, and I hope the effect will be that those who have called this convention will regret having done a deed of which they ought to be ashamed, frankly to come forward and confess it. How much good would it do, if those who called this convention, would say. We have come to our senses and we believe we are in the wrong; we will cease here and throw no more fire-brands. May we not hope that the feelings of this community will call these men to their senses. The last resolution recommends to our fellow-citizens in case they should persist, to absent themselves from the meeting. I trust that the feeling with which this was received is a proper index of the feelings of the people of Utica. The right of discussion is that for which our fathers bled.

We can follow the language of this resolution and we can show them a beggarly account of empty boxes. (Cheers.) Let abolitionists *only* go to the convention, and there will not be a corporal's guard of them. (Cheers.) Citizens of Utica! let us do it.

SPEECH OF HON. CHESTER HAYDEN.

This is a subject in which I feel a deep interest. Nor do I believe that my feelings are under an improper passion on this subject: they are the result of reflection and deliberation. If I understand the purport of the resolutions, the principle assumed is this: that those who call themselves "Abolitionists," or "friends of immediate emancipation," are by the course they are pursuing, not only riveting the chains of slavery and servitude more closely upon the blacks of the south, but a vastly greater mischief is involved in the course they adopt; they are putting in jeopardy the institutions of our country. Is there a man here who believes that if the people of the south were convinced that the people of the north were to any considerable extent united, and determined to dissolve their social relations, at one sweep to abolish the system of slavery, that they would not forthwith disband themselves from the Union? I have not the least doubt that such would be the consequence; not merely the Union between the north and south would be dissolved, but the Union of these States, and instead of one or two governments, the north and the south, we should have as many governments as we have States. And could another Union be formed with a constitution which would receive the approbation of all the states? No sir! So that instead of liberating the slaves at the south, the consequence would be that a state little better than slavery would be brought on the Union, and to a great extent on the world. It is said, slavery is a moral wrong, and we are called at once to put an end to it; "slavery is a sin, and we are to quit sin immediately without regard to consequences." What casuistry and ethics are these? to do right without regard to consequences! Is there such a thing as right and wrong without regard to consequences? It is perfect solecism. It is the *consequences* that make a thing right or wrong. There are, it is true, some cases which are not left to human judgment; in respect to those we have divine authority, and although our judgment might lead us to different conclusions, yet in these cases we are to submit our judgment to prescribe right or wrong. Is duty enjoined upon us as an arbitrary rule, without regard to coonsequences? The declaration is true that there is no such thing as right and wrong, except as connected with consequences. I am, therefore, utterly unable to understand persons when they declare, "We are bound to emancipate the slaves of the south," because we are bound to do right, and that without regard to consequences. We admit, that originally it was wrong to reduce men to slavery, but when we have them in our midst, incompetent to the right of citizens, should we discharge them from our care, and let them perish through their inability to provide for themselves? But if we must provide for them, it is better for them and us, that we provide for them in the relation in which they now stand. A provision for them in any other relations would be impracticable. The very principles of philanthropy utterly forbid our taking the course of the abolitionists. Wrong though it may have been, and was originally, to place them in the condition in which they are found, still the question is not, was it then right, but is it under the state in which they now exist? It is clear to my mind that it would be doing an absolute wrong to the slaves themselves, to take the course of the abolitionists. We cannot but desire that those who are among us, men whom we respect and esteem and do not entertain these views, should be satisfied that they are a small minority of the inhabitants, and if it should so happen, (which we deprecate) that this convention should assemble in this place, they may see that the citizens of Utica better understand their duty as citizens, the demands of benevolence, than to give any countenance to their proceedings. (Cheers.)

SPEECH OF HON. SAMUEL BEARDSLEY.

Hon. Samuel Beardsley said, It is but a short time since a numerous and respectable number of citizens of Utica, expressed their sentiments on the subject before us this evening. The views of this city have gone forth on the subject, as well as of other cities and numerous assemblies in this State. As far as the sentiment of the free States has been developed, it is the same sentiment against the abolitionists. It is great and overwhelming, and we trust will soon put a stop to their fanning the embers of the south. (Cheers.) We have spoken audibly and intelligibly to our brethren at the south, and to those around us, but sir, what have we witnessed since the simultaneous expression of the citizens of this city, but an act of the most consummate fool ishness? Sir, for what purpose has a State convention been called? To promote the objects they have in view. Sir, what are these objects? Mainly to bring about the abolition of slavery at the south. They seem like downright idiots. No man in his sober senses can doubt that every movement of this kind, instead of elevating the condition of the slaves, renders their condition more degraded, debased, and oppressive, than it has heretofore been; and the constant tendency is, to reduce the slave still lower and make him more a slave than he was before. It is clear that this is the tendency of the efforts of the abolitionists. I do not believe that a man can, with an honest heart, with a sound and intelligent mind, take such measures and entertain such a belief, or even expectation, that they will produce any share of the objects which he professes to have in view. And why are these abolitionists intent on holding a meeting in this city, to promote their designs? It is intended to insult us! (Cheers.) It is intended to degrade the character of the city in the esteem of the world. And especially to us who live here, to treat us with the utmost contempt—and insult us to our faces, where they cannot raise a corporal's guard. (Cheers.) They sir, in contempt of the open, public, and express sentiment of this community, come here to hold a disgraceful and scandalous assembly, to rush in and insult us to our faces, with an assemblage of this kind? If we were not a peaceable people, perhaps they might have an excuse for such downright hardiness and insult. They will be treated

[*Continued on the last page.*]

Congressional.

TWENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS;

FIRST SESSION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1835.

Petitions and memorials were presented by Messrs. Evans, Jarvis, Hall, Bailey, Fairfield, and Smith, of Maine, when—

Mr. Fairfield, understanding, he said, that by a presentation of a petition, a member was not made responsible for its proposition, presented a petition signed by 172 females, praying the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and moved that it be referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. Cramer moved that it be laid on the table, which was agreed to.

Mr. Fairfield then presented a similar petition, which he moved to lay on the table.

Mr. Mason, of Va., said, as it was extremely desirable to have an expression of sentiment on this subject, by the House, he would ask for the yeas and nays on the motion, and they were ordered.

Mr. Boon called for the reading of the memorial. After it was read,

Mr. Everett rose to ask whether the motion to lay on the table was made by the member who presented the petition.

Mr. Fairfield replied in the affirmative.

Mr. Slade moved that the memorial be printed.

Mr. Williams, of North-Carolina, asked the division of the question.

Mr, Mason, of Virginia, asked the yeas and nays on the motion to print, and they were ordered.

The question being taken on the motion to lay on the table, it was decided in the affirmative,—yeas 180—nays 31.

Mr. Vanderpool remarked, he would move to lay the motion to print upon the table, and upon that motion he called the yeas and nays, which were ordered by the House.

The question being taken, it was decided in the affirmative.—Yeas 168—nays 50.

So the motion to print was *laid on the table.*

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Extracts from the Washington Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

Dec. 15. 1835. In the House of Representatives, the Speaker, in compliance with the prescribed rules, called for petitions and memorials in the order of States and Territories. This business occupied the whole day, so that the officers of the House are not yet elected. There was a slight *brush*, arising from the presentation, by Mr. Fairfield, of Maine, of a memorial from certain citizens of Maine, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It was rather odd, that the Hon. Gentleman who presented this petition moved, of his own accord, that it should be laid on the table. On this question the yeas and nays were called for: and the motion was carried by a vote of 182 to 32. Mr Slade, of Vermont, moved that the memorial be printed, and made some remarks relative thereto. He was going into the question of the expediency of abolishing slavery in this District, when he was reminded by the Speaker that such a course was out of order, on a simple motion to print. Mr. Vanderpool, of New-York, then moved to lay the motion to print on the table also, and asked the yeas and nays on that question; the vote stood 156 to 52—so the motion to print was laid on the table. It is said that the petitions and memorials, having reference to the object of this one from Maine, are much more numerous this session, than they have been heretofore. Many members have held back those entrusted to them, till they should see what direction others of a similar character would take.

Dec. 18.—A petition from sundry citizens of Wrentham, Massachusetts, had been presented—praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. A motion was made by Mr. Beardsley to lay the petition on the table. This was not enough for some of the southern folks: and a motion was made by Mr. Pickens, of S. Carolina, to reject the petition, who claimed for his motion the right of precedence. This gave rise to a lengthened conversation on the point of order, which was terminated by a motion being made and carried to consider the petition. Then came the tug of war! Beardsley, of New-York, who headed the assemblage, that made the anti-slavery convention at Utica disperse, and Vanderpool, of the same State, tried hard to coquette with the southern men, and make them believe they were with them. But Wise, Pickens, and Williams saw through their hollowness and were determined to test them. So they insisted on a motion to reject. Mr. Beardsley moved again to lay the petition on the table. It was negatived; and before the question could be taken on the motion to reject, the House adjourned.

I must say, I was exceedingly pained to observe the course which several members from the south pursued to-day, in regard to this subject. It was calculated to do them harm—it was better calculated to gain favor for the abolitionists, than all the arguments which have ever been advanced by their zealots and fanatics. There is no doubt at all that there is an immense majority in the House opposed to the prayer of these petitions. But, why should an attempt have been made to throw out this petition as soon as it was introduced into the House? Our Constitution, recognizes the right and freedom of speech and thought. The right to petition Congress also belongs to the People. Our Constitution is worthless, unless it maintains these great principles. What reason, I ask, can be assigned, that is just and tenable, for attempting to throw out these petitions? We will soon hear, it may be imagined, of our legislators drawing a cordon round their Capitol, to prevent the entrance of similar documents—just as is done around the Austrian frontiers. But I forbear to dwell on this debate, because our southern friends are hot enough, without our blowing the bellows; and if I speak at all, I must tell the plain truth, however unpalatable it may be.

I cannot restrain myself from giving my testimony to the admirable and patriotic speech of Mr. Hunt, of New-York. He opposed the motion to reject the petition, and advocated sending it to the proper quarter—the Committee on the District of Columbia. He maintained that the House was evidently almost unanimous as to the denial of the object of petitioners, and that the sole dispute would arise from a difference of judgments as to the means of effecting that end. He hoped, therefore, that the subject might be referred to the proper quarter, from which a report might be obtained before long, which would be decisive of the sense of the House. This, there can be no doubt, is the proper course. And it is greatly to be regretted, that any excitements should so far banish discrimination and reflection from the minds of American legislators, as to allow them to adopt any other kind of proceeding. Who would have dreamed that the representations of that section of our country which has given birth to a Pinckney, a Lowndes, a Calhoun, would aim a blow at the right of petition? Thank Heaven! what has been done cannot be undone. No power can blot out from the book of realities the glorious patriotism and devotion to liberty, of the south. Let us hope that the present fermentation of the minds of many delegates from that section, will work the *must* into generous wine. But such exhibitions as that of to-day put us, and will put every lover of constitutional liberty, to a sore trial. They make us hang our heads.

Dec. 19.—Congress will do nothing of importance till after the Christmas holidays. There is no saying how long the exciting topic, which led to so much confusion, and idle waste of time on Friday, may keep the ASSEMBLED WISDOM *talking*. If the motion to reject the petition from Massachusetts, praying the abolition of slavery in this District, which was pending when the House adjourned, be carried; then the result will be, that the same thing will have to be acted over, for many days to come. I have heard more than a dozen members say they have similar petitions to present:—and if southern members are resolved to treat the northern constituency in this disrespectful manner, *they* are resolved also to give them enough to do. They will pour in these petitions, day after day, and one at a time. I trust, however, the petition will not be rejected. I am satisfied that it should be sent to the Committee on the District of Columbia,—which is the proper and legitimate course, and a report should issue from that Committee: such a report would have a much better effect on the community at large, as well as the petitioners, than could possibly result from a rejection of the petition. No man can doubt what would be the character of the report. It would be a most decisive and unequivocal denial of the prayer of the petitioners. I must add to what I said on this subject yesterday, that I think the apparent excitement of the speakers from the southern States, was quite uncalled for. Nor do I believe that it was a manifestation of genuine feeling. Wise, Pickens, and Hammond were perpetually out of order—going into the merits of the question, and in spite of the solicitations and injunctions of the presiding officer. They must have known better—and (perhaps I may be wrong, but) they gave me a strong impression that all their declamations was more bluster than bravado. Men, who really felt the question to be so momentous as they wished to make this out to be, would have assumed a very different tone and bearing. However, I was glad to see these fiery spirits kick so strongly against the alliance of the Van-ites. Poor Beardsley, Vanderpool, and Pierce, tried hard to find favor with the southern members—but it would not do—they had turned upon them, what Castlereagh used to call a *back front.* Vanderpool talked loudly in favor of Beardsley's motion to lay on the table, and in commenting on the speeches of those who proposed to reject, said, he did not question their motives;—whereupon up sprang Wise, asking with a somewhat fierce courtesy, if the gentleman from New-York, would allow him to explain—"I will tell him my motives, Mr. Speaker,—I know there are affected and interested friends of the south here—I wish to nail the base coin to the counter! I say those who will vote to reject the petition *for* us—those who will not, are *against* us." But the *Van-ites* would not agree to this test. Their motion, however, to lay on the table was negatived. Yeas 95—nays 121. As this vote may be misconstrued, and lead to erroneous impressions, it is important I should inform you, that there is clearly a large majority in the House opposed to the prayer of the petition; but who wish the matter to be settled by a report from the proper Committee, which when adopted, might be regarded as the decisive expression of the opinion of Congress.

Dec. 22.—The latter part of the sitting in the House was occupied with what is now, and for two or three weeks to come, likely to be, the all-absorbing topic—Abolition. The Chair had no sooner stated what was the question before them, at the hour of adjournment on Friday last, which, you will remember, was on the motion of Mr. Hammond to reject the Massachusetts' petition, when Mr. Owens, of Georgia, arose, and moved to lay the motion of Mr. Hammond on the table, so as to enable him to offer certain resolutions, which, he said, (with the bad taste in figures, which sometimes disfigures the effulgent oratory of the southern members,) would, like the *rainbow*, disperse the clouds and darkness which hung over the House and the country, on this momentous subject. He said it was useless now to regret that this had been made a subject of discussion in the House. It was time now to meet, and act upon it. But he did deplore that this discussion was calculated to produce anti-social and hostile feelings. He disagreed, from many of his friends, who the other day declared the south asked no aid from the north. "We do want your aid," exclaimed Mr. O., "and you want ours also. They are reciprocal wants—wants, that led to the present glorious confederacy—that are the bond and surety of our Union—that promise to give to it *perpetuity*—aye, as far as human beings can plead, *immortality.*" He hoped his resolution would reconcile the opinions of gentlemen. They were stronger and more extended than the proposition of the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Hammond) for they would meet the question in whatever shape it could be presented; they contemplate bold, prompt, and decisive measures, which the state of the country required—and at the same time were free from Constitutional objections—they admitted in the fullest latitude the right to petition. These resolutions were then read by the Clerk for the information of the House. Mr. Wise, of Virginia, offered a modification of them, which I did not distinctly hear, but I understand was unimportant. The purport of the original resolutions was, that the question of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia ought not to be entertained by this House; and that the House ought not to take into consideration petitions on the subject. The motion for suspending the rules so as to bring these resolutions into discussion was negatived. After some desultory conversation by Mr. Adams, of Mass., Mr. Patton, of Va., and Mr. Evans, of Maine, during which some points of order were involved, and the merits of the question most irregularly gone into, a motion was made to lay the petition, and all the motions connected with it, on the table, which was carried in the affirmative. Yeas 140—nays 76. Here we thought the matter would rest, for the present, at least. But this was not the case. A dexterous representative, from "the Universal Yankee Nation," had, on Friday, while petitions were being presented, handed in one from his own State, Massachusetts, praying for the very same object, which has caused so much turmoil and confusion. No one seemed to have heard the object of the petition; the presentor moved, in *sotto voce*, that it be referred to the proper Committee,—that on the District of Columbia, which was accordingly done, as a matter of mere routine—without the cognizance of more than a dozen members of the House. This matter leaked out in the course of the discussion on the other petition. Several of the southern members rose and avowed that it had been referred without any knowledge on their part, and must have been done through inadvertence—and therefore they moved to re-consider the vote that sent the petition to the Committee on this District. The discussion that arose out of this motion was full of interest and excitement, and occupied the House till nearly five o'clock, when they adjourned without coming to any decisive vote; so that the matter will come up to-morrow again, and I hear many members say that it will last for weeks. J. Quincy Adams delivered himself of a speech today: so did Patton, of Va., and Thompson, of S. Carolina, also, who is somewhat cooler than most of the chivalric southerns. But I must tell you all about the debate and debaters to-morrow.

The Senate had the "Abolition" matter up also, on the question of referring that part of the President's message which relates to the transmission of "incendiary" publications by mail. It is to go to a select committee, who, among other things, are instructed to enquire how far Congress has power to legislate on the subject.

Dec. 22.—It gives me high pleasure to be able to communicate to you, as a fact, that the attempt to create a system of espionage into the contents of the mail, under the pretext of ascertaining whether there be incendiary publications transmitted to the slaveholding States, will not receive the smallest countenance and support from the *Senate.* In my letter of yesterday, I mentioned that the portion of the annual Message relative to this subject, had been referred to a select committee. Their names are—and let them be remembered as worthy of all honor—Messrs. Calhoun, (chairman,) King, of Georgia, Mangum, Davis, and Linn. I have learned, from the most authentic source, that Mr Calhoun will, in his report, make the strongest opposition to the views of the President and Kendall. He is probably aware of the hazard he is running, of alienating many of his friends in the south,—and particularly of losing his darling popularity in Carolina. But he feels that duty to his country, duty to the Constitution, which it is attempted to violate and trample in the dust, require him to take this stand. What is still more gratifying, and sheds still higher honor on the august assembly of which he is a member, (the Senate of the United States,) there is not the slightest discrepancy of opinion on the subject, among the members of the select committee, composed as it is of men of as high intellect, and honest patriotic hearts, as this country can boast of.

Mr. Calhoun, it is understood, is preparing a report, which will be one of his strongest efforts. The subject matter will no doubt be one of the prominent points of discussion, that will occur during the whole session.

The House of Representatives has been occupied all day with the motion to re-consider the vote, by which the petition on the abolition of slavery in the District, was sent to the committee on the District of Columbia. No result was come to—the House having adjourned before the question was taken. It is likely we shall have the debate for sometime yet.

I have filled up my letter with what I thought most interesting. There was a good deal of warmth to-day. Mr. Granger made a most sensible speech against the motion to re-consider. He is a fine looking fellow—with a clear, sound head—and a heart full of the best sentiments. He complimented the ladies, and repelling the charge that the signers of these petitions ought to be classed with *murderers*, said that they were numerously signed by *ladies*, who were murderers only in one sense. Like Macbeth—they "murder sleep."

Dec. 23.—This subject, which has been made the foot-ball of contention in the House for four days past, has at last, received its quietus for the present. The whole discussion has been most vexatious and unprofitable—nay, much worse than this—it has been productive of evil, the full measure and extent of which cannot yet be estimated. I am of opinion that this discussion took such a range, and was carried on in such a temper, I regret to say, on the part of both the great parties to the contest, as must necessarily have awakened feelings that will not be easily subdued. It was the evident object of the gentlemen from the slaveholding States to force the House to express an opinion upon the question—"Whether Congress has any power under the Constitution, and acts of cession of Maryland and Virginia, to interfere with the relations of master and slave, in the District of Columbia?" This was the reason why they opposed so strenuously every effort to lay the petition, and the motions connected with it on the table—which they considered evasive of the question. Now, this is precisely what a great portion of the House do not wish to be discussed. The moderate men of sound heads and honest hearts wish to avoid a debate on a question of this nature, upon which there may be such a discrepancy of judgment, and seek to dispose of the matter in a way for which all may vote from considerations of expediency—namely, by laying it on the table. The fiery spirits of Virginia and South Carolina, unfortunately, have gone beyond their tethers, and Wise, Pickens, Hammond, and Garland of Va., have indulged themselves to such an extent in strong expressions, not only against the abolitionists, but against each and all the persons who sign the petitions on this subject—calling them murderers, dastardly ruffians, blood-hounds, ignorant fanatics, &c., &c.,—that certain gentlemen of the north have felt themselves called upon to speak out, in defence of those upon whom these heavy charges have been made; and to repel from their constituents, who signed these petitions, the epithets referred to. They have maintained that a distinction worthy of the highest consideration is to be drawn and observed between the measures of the abolitionists, and the honest opinions of others who are opposed to slavery in this District, and petition for its discontinuance. Among those who have come forward in this way to throw back the wholesale accusations made against the petitioners, the most prominent have been Messrs. John Quincy Adams, Granger, Ingersoll, of Pa., and Slade, of Vt. The latter gentleman had the floor at the opening of the debate to-day, and made a speech of mere abstractions, which, however full of truth it might be, struck me as exceedingly imprudent. It was quite as far from the spirit of accommodation and deference which ought so to animate every member of the National Legislature on this momentous subject, as some speeches with which he had been previously entertained by certain gentlemen from the south. He concluded by expressing a wish that the petition should be referred to a select committee. He was followed by Mr. Garland, of Va., who declared his readiness to vote for the most decisive form of expressing disrespect for all such petitions. His speech was delivered under the influence of excitement evidently so strong, that correct judgment and discretion could hardly be looked for. Mr. G. is rather fond of the dramatic style. He pointed some two or three times to the portrait of the illustrious Washington, which adorns one of the sides of the Hall, and reminded Mr. Adams that the Father of his Country was a slaveholder; and at the head of a band of slaveholders, had saved the north from foreign and mercenary foes. He exhibited one of the pictures which the fanatics had distributed during the last summer among the slaves—called the petitioners, murderers and fiends, not to be distinguished from the abolition party—he would make no difference between the Devil and those who do his work, &c., &c. Things were growing hot—and we were all preparing for the beginning of a discussion, in which the whole merits of the subject of these petitions should be opened up; when, on Mr. Garland's taking his seat, Mr. Mann sprang up, and demanded the previous question. The operation of this call for the previous question, was to make it the next, or, as it is called, the main question, "will the House consider?" The call was sustained—the main question was then put—but, while it was pending, Mr. Owens, of Georgia, rose, and giving notice that he would introduce certain resolutions which would bring up the whole question the next time the States should be called in their order, he moved to lay the petition itself, and the motion to commit to the Committee on the District of Columbia, on the table. Mr. Wise moved to reject the petition, for the purpose of testing the opinion of the House; but the speaker having decided that this was not in order, he then declared he considered the question to lay on the table, the searching question, and called on the friends of the south to show their hands by voting against this attempt to evade the true point of debate. Mr. Owens's motion was carried by a vote of more than three to one. There the matter rests—but not for long, I fear.

Dec. 22.—Mr. Ingersoll, of Pa., proposed the following resolution, which was discussed at some length, but not finally acted upon:—

Resolved, That the *holding of slaves* is a right, clearly recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and is thereby secured to the citizens of those States, whose policy does not forbid it as the legitimate SUBJECT of individual property, and *source* of political influence and power; and all attempts to interfere with or molest them; in its exercise or enjoyment, are impolitic, unconstitutional, and unjust.

MORE LYNCH LAW.—"The Constitutional and Anti-Fanatical Society" of New Orleans, has lately issued a decree of banishment against Mr. Jacob Bodger, under a charge of unlawful connexion with slaves. Mr. Bodger, for 13 years a resident of N. Orleans, and a highly respectable man, had determined to obey, remaining, however, long enough to clear his character before the proper tribunal.

Northern Spirit.

FREE DISCUSSION.

At the first meeting of the New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, held in Peterboro' (the next day after the riotous proceedings at Utica,) the following resolution was submitted:—

"*Resolved*, That the right of free discussion, given to us by our God, and asserted and guarded by the laws of our country, is a right so vital to man's dignity and usefulness, that we can never be *guilty* of its surrender, without consenting to exchange that freedom for slavery, and that dignity and usefulness for debasement and worthlessness."

Mr. Gerrit Smith spoke as follows:—

Mr. President—Allow me to commence a few remarks by stating the history of this resolution. On returning home from Utica last night, my mind was so much excited with the horrid scenes of the day, and the frightful encroachments made on the right of free discussion, that I could not sleep, and at 3 o'clock, I left my bed and drafted the resolution as just read, and also noted down a few heads of thought which I may refer to or not as I proceed.

It is known to all here that I am not a member of the Anti-Slavery Society—nor am I prepared to become a member. I rise under the courtesy of the vote by which I have been kindly invited to sit with you and take part in your deliberations. At the same time, I am admonished by passing events, that it will soon be necessary for every friend of human rights or of the slave, and every man who is not himself a slave, or willing to be one, to act in concert with those over whose heads the war is apparently to be carried on against the right of free discussion. And probably the day is not distant, when, with all my objections, I shall become a member of your society.

That I *have* had objections to the course of the Anti-Slavery Society, is well known. What those objections were, I need not state here. They are spread out before the public, and it would be unreasonable to bring them forward here.

This much, however, I will say now. Your great principles are my great principles. I was born with them. I am not conscious that I ever in my life opposed, for an hour, the great and glorious doctrine of immediate emancipation. The odious doctrines that you hold, I hold also. All the sentiments that occasion you to be called amalgamators and insurrectionists, make the supporters of slavery call me an amalgamator and an insurrectionist. I love to look at the Anti-Slavery Society, and at myself, and to say,—

*Una spes, unaque salus, ambobus erit.**

When I see your reputation, and property, and lives in peril, I love to bring my reputation, and property, and life into the same peril. Let me read the resolution.

Resolved, That the rights of free discussion, given to us by our God, and asserted and guarded by the laws of our country, is a right so vital to man's freedom, and dignity, and usefulness, that we can never be guilty of its surrender, without consenting to exchange that freedom for slavery, and that dignity and usefulness, for debasement and worthlessness.

I love our free and happy government. But not because it *confers* any new rights upon us. Our rights spring from a nobler source than human constitutions and governments—from the favor of Almighty God. Constitutions and laws are modes of human devise for asserting and defining and carrying out the great natural and inherent rights of man, which belong to him as a rational creature of God. We do not learn our rights in the Book of Constitutions. We learn them from the Book of Books, which is the great charter of human rights. Rights belong to human nature. Constitutions at the most, do but recognize and preserve what never was theirs to give. The reason why I love a republican form of government, is not that this form of government clothes us with rights withheld by other forms, but that it makes fewer encroachments on the rights which God gave us, fewer restrictions upon the divinely appointed scope of man's agency.

We are not indebted to the Constitution of the United States or of this State, for the *right* of free discussion. We are thankful that they have hedged it about with so noble a defense. We are thankful, I say, that they have neither restrained nor abridged it; but we owe them no thanks for our possession of rights which God gave us. And the proof that he gave them, is in the fact that he requires us to exercise them.

Sir, if you strip the men who compose the church of Christ on earth of the right of free discussion, you strip them of their usefulness. In vain does God tell us not to suffer sin upon our brother, but in any wise rebuke our brother—if the right of free discussion is taken away. In vain has God said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," if we concede to any man, men, or body of men, the prerogative of restricting this right of free discussion. No, sir, this right of free discussion is inalienable, and therefore God justly requires me to speak of sin, of any sin, of every sin that comes in my way, to search it out, to assail it with light and love, with rebuke and argument, until it is removed.

When, then, this right of free discussion is invaded, this home-bred right, which is yours, and is mine, and belongs to every member of the human family, it is an invasion of something which was not obtained by human consession, something as old as our own being, a part of the original man, a component portion of our own identity, something which we cannot be deprived of without dismemberment, something which we never can deprive ourselves of without ceasing to be MEN.

This right, so sacred and so essential, is now sought to be trammelled, and is in fact virtually denied. What I have said was intended as introductory to my dissent from the language and manner in which this right is commonly defended. It is generally defended as something which our free government has given us, as what was earned by the toil and purchased by the blood of our fathers. Sir, this is an error. And men in denying this right, are not only guilty of violating the Constitution, and destroying the blessings bought by the blood and toil of our fathers, but guilty of making open war with God himself. I want to see this right placed on this true, this infinitely high ground, as a DIVINE right. I want to see men defend it, and exercise it with that belief. I want to see man determined to maintain in their extremest boundaries, all the rights which God, his Governor, has given him for his enjoyment, his dignity, and his usefulness.

I must say one word under the head I have marked in my notes of "Utica Mobs." Not that I design to dwell on the transactions of yesterday themselves. But a topic which they suggest is important enough to be noticed. This right of free discussion, sir, there is one class of men who ought to be particularly tenacious of. I mean, poor men. These constitute the most numerous class in every country, and therefore, to the true philanthropist, they are of the greatest value. The worldling graduates his interest in men according to their wealth, or rank, or external show. But the eye of the Christian philanthropist regards all with equal interest, because all souls are equal. When the rich are divested of their rights, they have still their riches and honors to rest on for dignity and defence. But when the poor man is divested of his right to speak, he is divested of all his rights. Take from him, that in which, almost alone, he stands on equal ground with his rich neighbor, the freedom of speech, and, sir, the man of poverty will soon find himself wholly at the mercy of the man of wealth. The poor men in Utica, whom we saw led on by men of wealth to a violent assault against free discussion, will yet see the *suicidal* character of their proceedings. The rights, which they have attacked in your persons, are their own dearest rights, without which they cannot help being trampled into the dust by wealth and title, just as wealth and title have always of old trampled into the dust those who have not this right to speak.

We are even now threatened with legislative restrictions on this right. Let us tell our legislators, in advance, that we cannot bear it. The man who attempts to interpose such restrictions, does a grievous wrong to God and man, which we cannot bear. Submit to this, and we are no longer what God made us to be—MEN. Laws to gag men's mouths, to seal up their lips, to freeze up the warm gushings of the heart, are laws which the free spirit cannot brook; they are laws contrary alike to the nature of man and the command of God; laws destructive of human happiness and the divine constitution, and before God and man they are NULL AND VOID. They defeat the very purposes for which God made man, and throw him mindless, helpless, and worthless, at the feet of the oppressor.

And for what purpose are we called to throw down our pens and seal up our lips, and sacrifice our influence over our fellow men, by the use of free discussion? If it it was for an object of benevolence, that we were called to renounce that freedom of speech with which God made us, there would be some color of fitness in the demand. But such a sacrifice, the cause of truth and mercy never calls us to make. That cause requires the exertion, not the suppression of our noblest powers. But here we are called on to degrade and unman ourselves, and to withhold from our fellow men that influence which we ought to exercise for their good. And for what? I will tell you for what. That the oppressed may lie more passive at the feet of the oppressor; that one-sixth of our American people may never know their rights; that two and a half millions of our own countrymen, crushed in the cruel folds of slavery, may remain in all their misery and despair, without pity and without hope.

For such a purpose, so wicked, so inexpressibly mean, the southern slaveholder calls on us to lie down like whipped and trembling spaniels at his feet. Our reply is this:—Our republican principles cannot submit to such conditions. God did not make us, Jesus did not redeem us, *for such vile and sinful uses.*

I knew before that slavery would not survive free discussion. But the demands recently put forth by the south for our surrender of the *right* of discussion, and the avowed reasons of that demand, involve a full concession of this fact, that free discussion is incompatible with slavery. The south, by her own showing, admits that slavery cannot live, unless the north is tongue-tied. Now you, and I, and all these abolitionists have two objections to this:—one is, we desire and purpose to employ all our influence, lawfully, and kindly, and temperately, to deliver our southern brethren from bondage, and never to give rest to our lips or our pens until it is accomplished. The other objection is,—that we are not willing to be slaves ourselves. The enormous and insolent demands put forth by the south, show us that the question is now, not only whether the blacks shall continue to be slaves, but whether our necks shall come under the yoke. While we are trying to break it off from others, we are called to see to it that it is not fastened on our own necks also.

It is said, "The south will not molest our liberty, if we will not molest their slavery; they do not wish to restrict us, if we will cease to speak of their peculiar institutions." I reply. The liberty we contend for, is bestowed by God, and we will have it as he gave it. Our liberty is not our *ex gratia* privilege, conceded to us by the south, and which we are to have, more or less, as they please to allow. No, sir. The liberty which the south proffers us, to speak, and write, and print, if we do not touch that subject, is a liberty we do not ask, a liberty which we would not accept, but which we scornfully reject.

It is not to be disguised, sir, that war has broken out between the south and the north, not easily to be terminated. Political and commercial men, for their own purposes, are industriously striving to restore peace. But the peace which they may accomplish will be superficial and hollow. True and permanent peace can only be restored by removing the cause of the war—*that is*, slavery. It can never be established on any other terms. The sword now drawn will not be sheathed, till victory, entire victory, is ours or theirs. Not until that deep and damning stain is washed out from our nation, or the chains of slavery are riveted afresh where they now are, and on our necks also. It is idle, criminal, to speak of peace on any other terms.

Does any man ask for proof of this? Not to speak of any other facts, who can read the simple, truthful, modest narrative of AMOS DRESSER, and not see that it is impossible the northern churches should ever again shake hands with slavery. If the church members, and elders of churches, who sat in judgment on that young man, could be compelled by the spirit of slavery to such lawless deeds, what hope can there be of peace while slavery continues? How can the south expect to retain the confidence of the north, when such outrages are publicly inflicted on our innocent sons: and not only inflicted, but countenanced and applauded, and the authors of them held in honor for the deed. The head and front of that young man's offence, was his being a member of the Anti-Slavery Society. And for this CRIME! this Christian young man was subjected, by professors, yes, titled professors of the religion of Jesus, to punishment, open, disgraceful, and severe. How can there be peace between us?

Whom shall we muster on our side, in this great battle between Liberty and Slavery? Not the many. The many never will muster in such a cause until they first see unequivocal signs of its triumph. We don't want the many, but the true-hearted, who are not skilled in the weapons of carnal warfare. We don't want the politicians, who to secure the votes of the south, care not if slavery is perpetual. We don't want the merchant, who to secure the custom of the south, is willing to applaud slavery, and leave his countrymen, and their children, and their children's children, to the tender mercies of slavery forever.

We want only one class of men for this warfare. Be that class ever so small, we want only those who will stand on the rock of Christian principle. We want men who can defend the right of free discussion on the ground that God gave it. We want men who will act with unyielding honesty and firmness. We have room for all such, but no room for the time-serving and selfish. We have room as well for the aged and decripid warrior as for the vigorous and the young. The hands that are now trembling with the weight of years, are the best hands in the world to grasp the shield of faith. These grey-haired servants of God best know how to move the hand that moves the world. We want them, and such as them: men who are acquainted with God, and used to God's work. And these we shall have. And his blessing we shall have, if we are humble; and we cannot fail.

* One hope and one salvation shall be to us both.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING IN UTICA.

It seems that abolitionism was not entirely smothered in Utica, nor is mob law perpetual. The *young men* held a meeting on the 4th instant, in the *Methodist* church, which was kindly granted by the trustees for that purpose. The editor of the Standard and Democrat says:—

The call signed by about 60 persons, was published in our last. Notice was also given in hand-bills stuck up, during the day, in different parts of the city. The whole proceeding was conducted with spirit and firmness. A determination to maintain their rights and assert them on all proper occasions, was manifested by all. The constitution has been signed by about one hundred young men, who are determined to do all in their power to move on the car of universal emancipation. No rioting or disturbance occurred during the day. Three or four

of the rioters of the 21st October made their appearance at the church, but remained silent spectators. Their leaders were not there to incite them to action, and hence, no disturbance took place.

A constitution was adopted, a declaration of sentiments, a string of resolutions, and an address to the public, all worthy of the cause and of the young men of Utica, who were not born to be slaves. The officers of the society were elected by ballot.

On counting the ballots, Palmer V. Kellogg was declared to be elected president; Francis Wright, Henry Newland, and Lewis Lawrence, Vice Presidents; J. T. Marshall, Corresponding Secretary; Henry D. Tucker, Recording Secretary; George D. Foster, Treasurer; J. T. Lyman, Doct. J. P. Newland, Seth Hunt, Andrew Hanna, Edward Herrick, Edward P. Clark, Orren Kendall, J. J. Ward, T. C. B. Knowlson, and Thomas M. Martin, Executive Committee.—*Evangelist.*

ARTHUR TAPPAN.—It will be interesting to many to learn, that Arthur Tappan & Co., escaped the ruin in which so many have been involved. Their store being of stone, and having window shutters of thick boiler iron (put on after the mobs of July, 1834,) withstood the flames for nearly an hour, while all was in a blaze around it, so that the books and papers, a very large amount of goods, probably $100,000 worth, were carried out, and after two removes, placed beyond the spread of the fire. It is supposed that the insurance will cover the remainder of his loss.

The energies and daring with which the colored people pressed to save Mr. Tappan's goods, greatly impressed the bystanders. It was with difficulty they were restrained from rushing in after the flames had burst out at the door.—*Evangelist.*

They did not—according to the southern notions—take this opportunity of robbing their benefactor, much less of "cutting his throat."—ED. PHIL.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

NEW-RICHMOND, OHIO, JAN. 8, 1836.

THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.—We insert, to-day, so much of the President's Message as relates to the Post-Office Department, in connexion with the use which, it is alleged, abolitionists have made of it, for the dissemination of their tracts and papers throughout the slave States. It is not introduced with any reference to party-politics. We belong to no party—but keep ourself free to condemn, what to us seems wrong, and to approve what is right, no matter by what class of politicians it may be accomplished. *Slave Emancipation* we regard as a great *moral* question, which may be supported by every honest man, of whatever party, in the community. Indeed, one of the most threatening dangers to abolitionists is, that the bitterness of persecution may, at length, drive them to assume a party-posture. Should this unfortunately result from a continuance of the present state of things—although it is not to be doubted they would act with great vigor and efficiency—the dangers to the Union, instead of being, as they now are, almost entirely imaginary, would, very probably, become substantial. As a *political* party, acting entirely for its own ascendency, the abolitionists would, doubtless,—as other parties of a similar character having no *principle* at their foundation—lay aside much of that sacred regard to *duty* which impels them now to act for their *country.*

It is not necessary to our present purpose, to join issue on the charge, that our publications are "incendiary" in their character, and tend to excite an insurrectionary spirit among the slaves. As a refutation of this charge can be easily made out, we hope to do it satisfactorily, in the judgment of all impartial and judicious men, on some future occasion. At this time we will have no contest on this point—but content ourself, according to the assertions of those who read our publications with unconquerable prejudice, or, who do not read them at all, with setting them down as in a *high degree inflammatory.*

In the adoption, by law, of any plan, in agreement with the recent doctrines of the Post-Master General, and the concurrent practice of many of his deputies, Congress will be met by many more difficulties than its advocates seem to have foreseen. Every one, whose mind has been at all turned to the consideration of a *plan,* will, at once, say, none could be more effectual than to exclude from the post-office all similar publications—not, to be sure, as to thought and matter, but as to outward form and description. To this the community could not be persuaded to submit, inasmuch as it would cut off from them their newspapers, pamphlets, periodicals, &c. They would prefer hazarding the danger of partial and occasional tumults from the dissemination of mischievous publications, to shutting out, altogether, the light of the Press from the public mind. It is very clear, this would not be an acceptible plan.

Another:—permit the laws relating to the conveyance by mail, of *printed* papers of every kind, to remain as they are, with this single innovation—that such of them as are "*inflammatory*" shall be excluded. Printed papers are now admitted into the mail, according to their form, or the times at which they are published—or according to some test not applied to the language in which they may be written, or the train of thought which they may develope. Their *right* to this public conveyance is ascertained by an examination of them externally, or at least, independently of the sentiments embodied in the language. This office is an easy one, and may be performed with all reasonable exactness, by men of very circumscribed literary attainments—as many of our deputy-post-masters must of necessity be.

But, if the right to conveyance be made to depend on something beyond this—on the style, the caste of thought, the train of argument, or on the conclusions to which the writers may come, it would require a *literary commission,* which it is believed, neither our own country nor any other,—taking into the account the necessary qualifications and numbers—could supply. The deputies—calling in question neither their impartiality nor capableness—would not have *time* for such an inquisition. No small difficulty too would be presented, in fixing the *standard* of incendiarism or inflammability. A deputy, south of Mason and Dixon's line, in thinking "*by authority,*" or, according to the order of some leading southern editor might exclude from the mail, as "inflammatory and incendiary," the *New-York Evening Post*—because it maintains the right of discussion on all subjects, not even excepting the *res non tangenda*—southern slavery; whilst he might give free course to the *Courier and Enquirer*—remarkable for nothing, more than its zealous propenseness to stir up the feculence of its own city, that it may direct it against its neighbors. On the other hand, a brother-deputy, at the first post-town *north* of that line, might think—as he probably would—that the demands of the *slave* States on the *free,* for a surrender to them, not only, of the liberty of the Press and of Speech, but of the *persons* of some of their citizens, inheriting the virtue and patriotism of ancestors who shed their blood and ventured their lives that they might build up and establish forever this watch-tower of freedom for their posterity; yes, he might think such demands, and even Governor McDuffie's recommendation of slavery to the free States, as insulting to his country,—and regard all the papers containing them as in the highest degree "incendiary and inflammatory." Thus it might be, that in times of excitement, when, more than at any other, it is essential, that the calm and reflecting men on both sides should know, what each is saying and doing of the other, all knowledge of their mutual regard, whether friendly or hostile, would be cut off. These suggestions, beside others innumerable, corresponding with them, are sufficient to show, that it would be altogether impracticable—and *intolerable* if it were not, to institute a commission of *post-office surveillance,* made up of ten thousand deputies, differing in many instances, it may be, as widely in honesty and discretion, as the actual distance which separates them from each other.

A third plan is, to make it punishable as a crime, for a citizen to put into a post-office one or more of the anti-slavery publications, directed to any person in the slave-holding States. At first sight, this would seem, from its boldness and energy, to be adequate to the object. A moment's reflection will show us our error,—the "inflammatory" paper would, in all probability, be printed and put up in the form of other papers deemed innocent, and, therefore, passing unsuspected. In this way, it would proceed to the place of its destination, without exciting any suspicion,—unless it should be enjoined as a duty on the deputy-post-masters to open and scrutinize every tract, journal, or printed paper deposited in their respective offices. This we have endeavored to show is impracticable. But even if this could be done, it would be altogether unavailing, unless discretionary power was conferred on the deputy-post-master *to open letters,*—for if the *fanaticism* of the abolitionists be of such high pressure character—so insatiate, that it cannot be appeased with any thing short of servile insurrections, they will not hesitate to transmit their torpedo-tracts by *letter,* knowing the certainty of their explosion on being opened at the south. In the variety of propositions, that have been made to propitiate the slave holder and erect stronger muniments around his "system," there has been none, so far as we know, from any quarter, to confer on the Post-Master General and his deputies the right, at discretion, of breaking open letters.

Beside—if not a virtual abrogation of our rights as free-men—would it not be pushing criminal punishments to injurious severity, to inflict them for an act, in itself indifferent, of depositing in the post-office a paper, or journal, which the Constitution of the State, under the protection of which the party charged was living, authorized him to print and publish without restraint? In Kentucky, for instance, the right to print on any subject is secured, without restriction, to every one, by the Constitution. So it is in Tennessee. Now, to make a citizen responsible, *criminally,* for the naked act of depositing in the post-office in Kentucky, for transmission to some other office in Tennessee, a paper under Constitutional protection at the point where it was prepared, at the point where it is to be delivered, and at every intermediate point, seems to be utterly insufferable. The community could never be brought to consider such an act *criminal*—unless under the influence of the wildest passion heated against some unfortunate and unfriended stranger; the law could not be executed; public sentiment would nullify it in every court, where trial should be made of its strength.

But, in our judgment, the laws of the several States, as they now stand, seem to be entirely adequate—or if not, they can be made adequate—to the prevention of the injury apprehended:—and this, too, without the slightest encroachment on the independent rights of the respective sovereignties. The easiest way of illustrating their sufficiency is by showing their application in a particular case. Say, then, the abolitionists publish various anti-slavery papers authorized by the Constitution of the State of New-York, where they reside—harmless there, where there are no slaves, but supposed by the people of South-Carolina to be well fitted to excite in their slaves—should they see them—a spirit of insubordination and revolt. These papers are, in their external form, description, &c., such as are usually carried by the United States mail. Into it they are put; directed, as we will suppose—according to the actual case, last summer, to Charleston, South-Carolina. Previously to their being deposited in the post-office in New-York, the laws of the United States neither control nor protect them—these offices being performed by the Constitution of New-York and the laws of the State made in pursuance of it. Neither have the Constitution and laws of South-Carolina, up to this point of time, any power over them. If they could exercise any, the sovereignty of South-Carolina could act for the demolition of that of New-York—an absurdity no one will contend for. So soon as they are deposited in the post-office in New-York, they fall under the protection of the laws of the United States. New-York has nothing more to do with them. During their transition at every point on the route; without regarding what State lines the mail may pass, or into what territory it may penetrate, the whole power of the United States independently of every other, is with them for their protection and safety; continues with them to the post-office in Charleston, and as long as they remain in the hands of the deputy there, uncalled for. Thus far, South-Carolina has no connexion with the papers, and possesses *no* power over them. But no sooner do they leave the possession of the deputy in Charleston, by being delivered to the person to whom they are directed, than the laws of the United States, hitherto paramount, having performed their office, withdraw their power to protect, and the papers, as now being the separate property of citizens of South-Carolina, or of persons within the limits of her jurisdiction, fall under the control of her laws exclusively. Her legislature may make it penal for any one subject to its enactments, to *receive* such papers from the deputy-post-master; or to carry them away from the post-office; or to neglect, for an hour, tearing them up, or consuming them in some other way.

This simple statement—for no argument is needed—shows conclusively and clearly, that there exists no necessity, in this matter of the "inflammatory" papers, for the invasion of the legal or constitutional rights of any one, or for the slightest conflict between the independent institutions of New-York and South-Carolina—or of either of them and those of the United States. And why should South-Carolina desire to place the matter on any other footing? To our judgment, it seems, she has every security she could reasonably ask. To allow any thing more, would be enabling her to prostrate rights held by citizens of other sovereignties equal in dignity to her own. So long as the papers are in New-York, South-Carolina is unharmed by them. While they continue in the custody of the Post-Office Department, although in Charleston, they are innocuous—their poison, whatever it may be, being hermetically sealed up, and kept from circulation. She should be satisfied with having her legislative omnipotence, within her own limits, over the subject matter, unopposed and undisputed.

In this aspect of the case (so simple that it would seem to present itself to every one) it is no easy matter—leaving out the infatuation which slaveholding superinduces over the best minds—to frame an apology for the countenance given by such men as Governor Hayne, Judge Dessaussure, and others in Charleston as well distinguished, to the unnecessary and criminal outrage committed, a few months ago, on the laws of the United States, in the breaking open and plundering of their city post-office.

"WILFUL MISREPRESENTATION."—In a late number of the National Intelligencer, there is republished an article taken from *Le Courier Francais,* in relation to the "*Egorgemens*" (throat cuttings,) in this country. The *translation* is furnished by a writer, who, under the signature of TACITUS, has written much and very intelligently on European affairs for that journal. In a note to the article above mentioned he uses this language, "Reprehensible as are the doctrines and proceedings of the abolitionists in the United States, in my humble opinion, there is no other of their misrepresentations so fraught with mischief, as that in which they assert, that the colored exceed the white race in the slaveholding States of the United States. Charity would be changed for folly, if we were to suppose the abolition leaders *ignorant* of the reverse relation of numbers, and it is nothing but justice in this case to charge them with wilful misrepresentation."

Tacitus has not cited any instance from the publications of abolitionists to support his charge. We agree with him, substantially, when he asserts that *ignorance* of the relative numbers of the white and colored portions of the inhabitants of the slave States, is not to be attributed to the most intelligent of the abolitionists who have undertaken to write on the subject. If the assertion, as stated in his note, has been made by any such, it will require very strong countervailing circumstances to relieve it from the charge of being "*wilful*" and, therefore, indefensible. We have been a somewhat careful reader of anti-slavery publications for nearly two years past. If they contain such a misrepresentation as is charged, we have *overlooked* it—for we are confident it would not have been *forgotten.* Notwithstanding, we would, by no means, charge on Tacitus the whole, or any part, of the allegation he has brought against abolitionists. His statement may be literally and entirely true. It may be, that some of our friends have fallen into the error—and distrusting the full efficacy of the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, have suffered themselves to be seduced by the evil example of many who oppose them.

If this article should, by any means, be seen by Tacitus, we trust, (and we request) that respect for the claims of justice as well as himself will induce him to give to the public—the tribunal before which his accusation has been preferred—some *evidence* of its truth. If it be sustained, we will unite with him in asking speedy and peremptory judgment of condemnation on the guilty. To him with but a slight alteration of his own language, we would say, *let not associations of men, however pure their purpose, think they are above the reach of calumny. Reputation is, if possible, more necessary to them than to an individual; and, in either case when sullied, is not easily, if ever, restored to primitive brilliancy.* In our own, we would add—as the majesty of the *Law* is most gloriously illustrated in the fullness of its protection to those who are most feeble in themselves,—so the strength of Principle in any mind is most satisfactorily evinced, when it hearkens to the faintest call for justice, though it be from the most hated and despised.

We shall publish the whole of the article with the translator's note in some future number.

"IMMEDIATE ABOLITION" PREFERRED TO "PERPETUAL SLAVERY!"—An editor of one of the neighboring religious journals, for whom we have a high personal esteem—whilst we regard his course in relation to slavery not so decided as it should be—in commenting on the recent message of Governor McDuffie, makes this remark—"we cannot go with the abolitionists, because we believe their views of the civil rights of man are of a radical tendency; but, if *compelled* to make an election between perpetual slavery and immediate abolition, we should unhesitatingly choose the latter."

We would say to him—he acts injuriously to the abolitionists in the first part of the statement; because he uses the influence of his name and station to prefer a charge against them, so general and indefinite, that it cannot, on this account, be refuted. Notwithstanding, we intend, by no means, to put him down, as one of a numerous class, who hazard random statements against us, because we are unpopular,—and expect that any thing disreputable said of us and given to the wind, will fall on willing ears.

As to the choice which he would make between perpetual slavery and immediate abolition—it is, in itself, no evidence to our mind, however "unhesitatingly" it might be made, that the mercury in his anti-slavery thermometer is very high; for we can find no small number of actual slaveholders, who say the same thing, and speak with utter abhorrence of the *perpituity* of the system whilst they are doing all in their power to maintain it *now;* so that if every succeeding generation be only as faithful to their work as the last; there will, so far as man's agency is concerned, be every reasonable assurance of its perpetuity. Now in despite of what the editor of the Journal has said—and, as we think, disparagingly to his own better feelings—we should be greatly astonished, and grieved, were he put on his election in the dilemma supposed, to see him reject *immediate liberty* for any portion of his fellow-creatures, and choose for them, in preference to it, *slavery,* with its present unnumbered woes, and its coming unnumbered horrors—*were it even for a day.*

DR. CHANNING, ON SLAVERY.—To a highly esteemed friend in Boston, we are indebted for this valuable essay, brought to us by mail, a few days since. As yet, we have had leisure to bestow on it only a rapid perusal. As a whole, it is an admirable production—the fruits of much and of profound thought on great principles, lying at the foundation of human rights and human happiness. We rejoice, too, at its publication *at this time,*—when the enraged spirit of despotism at the south, imperiously calling into its service the obedient material of the north, is making the hearts of many good men fail them through fear. We expect to make large extracts form it in our paper.

Whilst we give our approbation to it, as *a whole,* we would not be understood to say it was without fault. Dr. Channing's reasoning on the main subject, slavery, its effects on the oppressed and the oppressor, on the rights of the slave as a man, in his exposure of the utter untenableness of any ground urged in favor of this form of oppression,—in all this we remember to have seen in it nothing which has not our hearty concurrence.

We think him deficient when he comes to the practical part of his work in reference to *emancipation.* We hold it essential—absolutely so—to the establishment of peaceful and friendly relations between those who have been masters and those who have been slaves, that the first *as such* retain neither shred nor patch of their former power over the latter. Let the slaves be set completely on their feet as *men*—to labor where, and with whom they please—to obtain the best wages they can get, so that in every movement they may feel neither the galling nor the degradation of their former chains. Should evils arise, let them be provided for by proper laws—made not for the *colored men* but for the *offence.*

We would not charge on Dr. Channing the faintest wish to do injustice to the abolitionists. No: the whole tenor of the work forbids such a suspicion. He has, also, been careful to show how difficient in fullness has been the evidence he has been supplied with. It would have been perhaps more just to have dealt with us in the same calmness that he has exhibited towards the slaveholder, and to have abstained from the appearance of sanctioning, where he would not himself make,—the application to us of the offensive and injurious names by which we are popularly stigmatized. If he had been well informed as to the course pursued by the abolitionists as a body, his decision, we doubt not, as to their wisdom, their forbearance, their concessions to the existing state of things, their regard for all parties and all interests, would have been different. We shall on future occasions refer, more at length, to this work—which, notwithstanding its errors as we deem them, on some points, we regard as a great auxiliary to the cause of Truth, and Righteousness, and Liberty.

EDITORIAL SYMPATHY.—The following scrap is taken from a late number of the Louisville Journal:—

Mr. James G. Birney has given notice in the Cincinnati Christian Journal, that he is about to commence the publication of his Abolition paper at New-Richmond, in Clermont county, near Cincinnati. We have little doubt that his office will be torn down, but we trust that Mr. B. will receive no personal harm. Notwithstanding his mad notions, we consider him an honest and benevolent man. He is resolute too. Not having been permitted to open his battery in this State, he is determined to cannonade us from across the river. Is'nt it rather too long a shot for execution, Mr. Birney?

We have been at some loss to account for Mr. Prentice's solicitude for us. Personally, we are almost entirely strangers to each other; yet this is not the *first* notice we have had of his regard. To us, his sympathy is inexplicable, unless on the ground of uneradicable *fraternal* feelings for abolitionists,—feelings that in *former* times may have been much stronger than now, since Mr. Prentice's exposure of them to the warm sun of the south, and since he has, it may be, taken on him some of the troubles of the peculiar "*guardianship*" existing there, and subjected his very handsome powers to the humble drudgery of political partizenship.

"A NEWSPAPER,—which openly, or by inuendoes excites a mob, should be regarded as sounding the tocsin of insurrection.—*Dr. Channing.*

INTERESTING ANECDOTE.—A few days since, a physician of Cincinnati,—called in to minister to one of the members of a respectable and pious family who are, by no means, *abolitionists,*—on leaving the house, presented to one of the little daughters a late number of the "Slave's Friend." On calling again a day or two afterward, he was informed by the mother, that she had been found weeping and apparently in great distress; and that, on being asked to tell the cause of her tears, she said she could not help crying, when she thought of the poor little negro boy about whom see had been reading in her little book. This same little book was, after this, read by all the family.

The cause of the poor and oppressed is not likely to fail, whilst their God provides for it so sure a refuge in the sympathies of the young and virtuous.

THE SIGHT OF OPPRESSION HATEFUL.—Two or three weeks ago, a slaver, who had come down the Ohio river to Cincinnati—had occasion to shift his human freight from the steam-boat in which he had arrived, to another going to the south. For this purpose, the slaves were driven, ragged and dirty, along the Cincinnati landing, for some eighty or a hundred yards distance. Whilst they were performing this march, the slaver, who, with rather downcast looks was bringing up the rear, was saluted by the by-standers on the other boats and on shore, with every name of reproach that contempt, indignation and disgust could supply. So true it is that oppression maketh men (and wise men too) mad.

TO THE PUBLIC.—It is deemed unnecessary to publish a list of agents, as the price of the paper is payable in *advance.* We would request of all abolitionists, especially such of them as are engaged in lecturing, to receive names and transmit to us the money of subscribers.

Any person desirous of receiving the paper will have it sent to him on transmitting us—(if by mail, *post paid*) the subscription price. We will hazard its safe conveyance. We trust that gentlemen who have heretofore interested themselves in procuring subscriptions will continue to do so.

Anti-Slavery Ecclesiastics.

SYNOD OF ILLINOIS.—On motion, *Resolved,* That the stated clerk of Synod, be directed to transmit to the stated clerk of the General Assembly to be laid before that body, a resolution passed by this Synod, at its last session, on the subject of slavery; which resolution is as follows:—

Resolved, That this Synod do most cordially recommend to the churches under our care, the use of all proper means to effect the speedy emancipation of slaves in the United States; and especially in the Presbyterian church. Synod do consider the existing system of holding in involuntary servitude, their fellow-men, as a crime of no ordinary character; against which they do hereby most earnestly and solemnly testify.

On motion, *Resolved,* That this Synod not only consider that the practice of slavery by a professed Christian is a most henious and aggravated sin; but that it ought to subject the perpetrator to the discipline of the church: and that this resolution go, in connexion with the former, to the General Assembly.

Adjourned to meet at ALTON, on the third Thursday of October, 1836, at 2 o'clock, P. M.

The stated clerk appends to these resolutions, the following explanatory note:—

The resolutions on slavery were passed after an interesting and earnest, but kind tempered discussion. The minority was small, and several of them expressed their assent to the last resolution as explained by a member, *if the explanation were to accompany it.* I believe the explanation was satisfactory to all: and therefore, being requested to do so, shall present it here.

The question, of course, was, how the resolution would be interpreted in practice. And in answer to this, it was observed, that it would not, necessarily, subject every one, who, under any circumstances, holds a slave; but such as wilfully sinned in the premises. For instance: a temperance church makes it censurable to use ardent spirits as a drink. Yet church members do drink it, and are not disciplined; because it is known that they honestly use it *only* medicinally. The letter may be broken, but the spirit of the rule is untouched. So a man may purchase and hold a slave for the purpose of making him a freeman; or may have one intending and preparing to set him free, as soon as he can with propriety do it; and though the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life,—a just interpretation discriminating between the innocent and the criminal transaction.

Poetry.

DEATH OF WILBERFORCE.

BY MRS. SIGOURNEY.

I heard loud praise of heroes. But I saw
The blood-stain on their tablet. Then I marked
A torrent rushing from its mountain height,
Bearing the up-torn laurel, while its strength
Amid the arid sands of Vanity
Did spend itself—and lo! a warning voice
Sighed o'er the Ocean of Eternity,
'*Behold the Warrior's glory!*'

History came,
Sublimely soaring on her wing of light,
And many a name of palatine and peer,
Monarch and prince, on her proud scroll she bore,
Blazoned by Fame. But 'mid the sea of Time,
Helmet, and coronet, and diadem,
Rose boastful up and shone and disappeared,
Like the white foam-crest on the tossing wave,
Forgotten, while beheld,

I heard a knell
Toll slow amid the consecrated aisles
Where slumber England's dead,—a solemn dirge
Break forth among the tomb of kings, and say—
That man was dust. And then a nation's tears
Fell down like rain; for it was meet to mourn.
But from the land of palm-trees, where doth flow
Sweet incense forth, from grove, and gum, and flower,
Came richer tribute breathing o'er the tomb
A prostrate nation's thanks.

Yes.—Afric knelt,—
That mourning mother, and, throughout the earth
Taught her unfettered children to repeat
The name of WILBERFORCE, and bless the spot
Made sacred by his ashes. Yea, the world
Arose upon her crumbling throne, to praise
The lofty mind that never knew to swerve,—
Though holy Truth should beckon it to meet
The frown of the embattled universe.
And so I bowed me down in this far nook
Of the far West, and proudly traced the name
Of WILBERFORCE upon my country's scroll,
To be her guide as she unchained the slave,
And the bright model of her sons, who seek
True glory. And, from every village haunt
And school, where rustic Science quaintly reigns,
I called the little ones, and forth they came,
To hear of Afric's champion, and to bless
The firm in purpose, and the full of days.

Miscellaneous.

EXTRACT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

In connexion with these provisions in relation to the Post-Office Department, I must also invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the south, by attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals addressed to the passions of the slaves, in prints, and in various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and to produce all the horrors of a servile war.

There is, doubtless, no respectable portion of our countrymen who can be so far misled as to feel any other sentiment than that of indignant regret at conduct so destructive of the harmony and peace of the country, and so repugnant to the principles of our national compact, and to the dictates of humanity and religion. Our happiness and prosperity essentially depend upon peace within our borders—and peace depends upon the maintenance, in good faith, of those compromises of the Constitution upon which the Union is founded. It is fortunate for the country that the good sense, the generous feeling, and the deep-rooted attachment of the people of the non-slaveholding States to the Union, and to their fellow-citizens of the same blood in the south, have given so strong and impressive a tone to the sentiments entertained against the proceedings of the misguided persons who have engaged in these unconstitutional and wicked attempts, and especially against the emissaries from foreign parts who have dared to interfere in this matter, as to authorize the hope, that those attempts will no longer be persisted in. But if these expressions of the public will shall not be sufficient to effect so desirable a result, not a doubt can be entertained, that the non-slaveholding States, so far from countenancing the slightest interference with the constitutional rights of the south, will be prompt to exercise their authority in suppressing, so far as in them lies, whatever is calculated to produce this evil.

In leaving the care of other branches of this interesting subject to the State authorities, to whom they properly belong, it is, nevertheless, proper for Congress to take such measures as will prevent the Post-Office Department, which was designed to foster an amicable intercourse and correspondence between all the members of the Confederacy, from being used as an instrument of an opposite character. The General Government, to which the great trust is confided, of preserving inviolate the relations created among the States by the Constitution, is especially bound to avoid in its own action, any thing that may disturb them. I would, therefore, call the special attention of Congress to the subject, and respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the southern States, through the mail, of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurection.

Table of the comparative free and colored population of the slaveholding States of the United States, formed from documents afforded by the tables of the Census of 1830.

Political Subdivision.	Whites acc'dg to Census of 1830.	Colored free and slaves, do.	Free color'd do.
Delaware,	57,601	19,145	15,853
Maryland,	291,108	155,932	52,938
East Virginia,	375,655	457,325	41,005
West Virginia,	318,645	59,780	6,343
North Carolina,	472,843	265,144	19,543
South Carolina,	257,863	323,322	7,921
Georgia,	296,806	220,017	2,486
Florida,	18,385	16,345	844
Alabama,	190,426	119,121	1,572
Mississippi,	70,443	66,178	519
Louisiana,	89,231	126,298	16,710
Arkansas,	25,671	4,717	141
Tennessee,	535,745	146,158	4,555
Kentucky,	517,787	170,130	4,917
Missouri,	114,795	25,660	569
District of Columbia,	27,563	12,271	6,152
Amount,	3,360,567	2,187,443	182,069

"FRUITS OF ABOLITIONISM!!"—A bill has passed the Legislature of South Carolina to prevent any colored merchant or tradesman, whether bond or free, to carry on work on their own account; and if any white person employ such persons in contravention of the law, they are subject to fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court.

That no free negro or person of color shall hold a slave or slaves, as master, nor shall any white person hold a slave in trust for any free negro or person of color.

That no person or persons shall keep a school for instructing any free negro or person of color, to read and write, under severe penalty.—*Charleston paper.*

civilly, I have no doubt, by the citizens of Utica, not because they deserve it, but because it is due to the reputation of the city. (Cheers.) They cannot claim that they deserve to escape castigation. These are the objects of these men. The laws of propriety forbid that they should come here. We are to be picked out as the head quarters of abolitionism in the state of New-York. Rather than have this I would almost as soon see it (the city,) swept from the face of the earth, or sunk as low as Sodom or Gomorrah! (Loud cheers.) Nothing is due to these men, if they come here. They are resolved to press forward with their designs, and thus endanger the south and our own institutions. So a man may contend he has a right to smoke a cigar in my powder house. (Cheers.) The inevitable tendency is to sunder the Union. They intend to hold their meeting in this city, and form a State society. It is intended to fix a deep and dark stigma on our name! It is to be recorded in history, that we are the head quarters of abolition! I wish, sir, they would not select this as the place of their meeting. It is but a day or two, that I saw the names of five or six clergymen about Albany, who have stated that their names have been employed without authority. Many have said their names were used without authority, although they do not come out and announce it to the world. The question is, whether the peace of this Union shall be disturbed or no? and whether we are to be thus disturbed and disgraced? (Cheers.)

The Hon. C. Hayden remarked, We learn from the papers that have been received this evening, that every individual in Albany, whose name is on the call, has recanted, or stated that their names were used without their being consulted.

The names were then read. (Cheers.)

Motion was then made and seconded, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by its officers, and published in the papers of the city. Amended by excepting the Standard and Democrat, because it was affirmed that it was clearly a *full-blooded abolition paper*.

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Act II.

From the Utica Observer.

PUBLIC MEETING.

At a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of Utica, convened pursuant to public notice, at the court room in the academy, on the 17th day of October, 1835, for the purpose of taking into consideration the resolutions of the Common Council, passed last evening, granting permission for the holding of a State Abolition Convention in this place, on motion of Hon. Samuel Beardsley, Rudolph Snyder, Esq., was appointed President, and John C. Devereux, Ephraim Hart, Ezra S. Barnum, Kellogg Hulburt, Adam Bowman, Nicholas Smith, and John B. Pease, Vice-Presidents; and on motion of D. Wager, Esq., Isaiah Tiffany and Wm. C. Noyes, were chosen Secretaries.

On motion of Hon. S. Beardsley, a committee of five was appointed by the chair, to prepare and report resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting, consisting of the following: Messrs. Samuel Beardsley, Joshua M. Church, Rutger B. Miller, Chauncey Rowe, and B. B. Lansing.

After the committe had retired, the Hon. Joseph Kirkland, Mayor of the city, entered the meeting, and being invited to a seat with the president, made a short address, in which from feelings of delicacy towards another body over which he presided, he declined the invitation; but at the same time expressed his decided opposition to the resolution of the Common Council, which occasioned the present meeting.

[The above paragraph, done into plain truth and English, is this: The Hon. Joseph Kirkland, Mayor of the city, entered, and was saluted with eight cheers; and being invited to a seat with the president, from feelings of delicacy towards the Common Council, over which he presided, he declined, but said the resolution, which was passed, (by the Common Council,) giving the abolitionists the privilege of holding their convention in this academy, was unqualifiedly and unconditionally against *my* judgment. It was unadvised, uncalled for, and unnecessary. (Cheers.) He then expressed his gratitude for their CHEERS. (Three cheers.)]

The committee, after a short recess, by Hon. S. Beardsley, its chairman, reported the following preamble and resolutions, for the consideration of the meeting, which having been read, and the meeting having been addressed by several gentlemen, were adopted:—

The citizens of Utica here convened, deem it unnecessary to repeat the expressions of their decided hostility to the movements of the abolitionists, and especially to the assembling of their convention in this city on the 21st instant, or at any other time. Their views upon this subject have on former occasions been expressed and reiterated: they are unchanged, and probably unchangeable. The public condemnation of these movements is here, as it is elsewhere, nearly unanimous, and the present meeting has been called forth, only by the new and unexpected attitude which has been assumed by the Common Council. This meeting has learned with no less surprise than regret and mortification, that the Common Council of this city, last night, by a vote of seven to four, assumed to grant permission for the holding of a State Abolition Convention on the 21st instant, at the place where we are now assembled. It is this vote which has brought the present meeting together; a vote, for which we see nothing like a justification, nor indeed an apology, and which, looking to the previous acts and declarations of several of the Aldermen who sustained it, is wholly inconsistent with those acts and declarations.

1. Therefore, resolved, That the said vote of a majority of said Common Council, is regarded by this meeting, not only as a flagrant usurpation of power, as that body has no rightful authority to grant such permission, but as a direct indignity to the good citizens of this place. (Cheers.)

2. Resolved, That we highly approve of the course which the Mayor of this city has taken upon this exciting subject; a course, in the judgment of this meeting, not less the dictate of a proper self-respect, than of sound patriotism and public virtue.

3. Resolved, That we proffer to the minority of the Common Council, who opposed the adoption of the resolution to which we have before referred, an expression of the thanks and the cordial approbation of this meeting.

4. Resolved, That this meeting, unmoved by passion or prejudice, but influenced only by a just regard for itself, and for what is due to the quiet and repose of the whole community, will not submit to the indignity of an abolition assemblage being held in a public building of the city, reared as this was, by the contributions of its citizens, and designed to be used for salutary public objects, and not as a receptacle for deluded fanatics or reckless incendiaries. (Cheers.)

5. Resolved, That it is the incumbent duty of every citizen to make use of all lawful and proper measures to arrest the disgrace which would settle upon this city, by the public assemblage of the convention appointed to be held on the 21st instant, and that when this meeting adjourns, it will adjourn to meet on that day at nine o'clock, A. M., at this place. (Cheers.)

On motion of D. Wager, Esq.,

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by its officers, and published in the Oneida Whig, Utica Observer, Baptist Register, and Evangelical Magazine.

The meeting was then adjourned by the president to the 21st inst., at 9 o'clock, A. M., at the same place.

RUDOLPH SNYDER, President.

JOHN C. DEVEREUX, EPHRAIM HART, EZRA S. BARNUM, KELLOGG HULBURT, ADAM BOWMAN, NICHOLAS SMITH, JOHN B. PEASE, } Vice-Pres.

ISAIAH TIFFANY, W. C. NOYES, } Secretaries.

[Reported for the Emancipator.]

SPEECH OF HON. SAMUEL BEARDSLEY.

The preamble and resolutions having been read, the Hon. Samuel Beardsley said, I feel some unwillingness in advising the citizens to meet as expected next Wednesday, as I myself am under the necessity of being at Albany on Monday, and probably through the whole week, and therefore cannot be here at that time. We have not met here to express our views on the subject of slavery. These have been heretofore expressed, and reiterated too plainly to be misunderstood. We have met to express our views against an act of the pnblic authorities. By the anticipated meeting of the abolitionists, our city is to be disgraced. She has a name worth preserving, and if we permit the Convention to meet in this place, we are to be held responsible for all the consequences which follow. I would rather this building should be razed from its foundation, or be destroyed with fire from heaven, than be thus contaminated. (Cheers.) The public authorities have tolerated the abolitionists in their designs on this subject. It is a flagrant and plain usurpation of power. What the law could not authorize them to do, they have no more right than schoolmasters or post-masters to occupy this place. We are not bound to respect the resolution of the Common Council. I have examined the deed. The object of this room was for town meetings and courts of justice, but never for a State abolition meeting. It is our duty to take this ground, and maintain it, in DEFIANCE of the *Common Council*. We shall be pointed at and degraded if we do not take this attitude. We are to be held up as the head quarters of abolition, if we do not resist this resolution of the Common Council. The gentlemen of the majority have abandoned the patriotic ground they once occupied in giving such a despicable band of mal-contents permission to hold their assembly here. (Cheers, etc.)

SPEECH OF MR. BUSHNELL.

Mr. H. Bushnell said, I do not know what to do on this subject, I feel myself in a quandary. I do not wish to have *free discussion* PUT DOWN. (Hissing.) I should judge from the character of this town, especially the religious character, that there was too much democracy to undertake to enforce a gag-law. (Hissing—hallooing—and cheers. Put him out doors, put him out doors.) If the gentlemen will wait a moment perhaps they will fall in with me. I am not an abolitionist. (More quiet.) I have not expressed myself in favor of the movements of the abolitionists. Their holding a State Convention in this city, I do not by any means approve. Every man who reasons on this subject must know, that *they will increase* in proportion as they are PERSECUTED. Citizens of Utica, would it not be better to let them alone! These abolitionists are determined to carry their points, at all events. They seem to be moved by religious feeling. They think that this is their duty, and they think they must do their duty, though the HEAVENS FALL. (Hold on, hold on. Hissing, hallooing, cheers, etc.) I do not like the gag-law. If the inhabitants of this town undertake to put in force the GAG-LAW, *I will turn to the other party*. (Hissing and cheers.)

SPEECH OF HON. CHESTER HAYDEN.

Hon. C. Hayden said, I hope gentlemen will not be interrupted, while they preserve decency in their language. I have not understood in any expression which has been made in any public meeting, nor any expression from a single indivinal, sustaining the position that it was the wish of any one man, or any body of men, to prevent the free expression of sentiment. It has been said that it was inexpedient to discuss some topics which have been made the subject of discussion, and also with much truth that, though the abstract right remains, it is inexpedient, on all subjects, at all times, and on all occasions, to exercise that right. We are bound so to use our own rights as not to injure others, and refrain from their *exercise* when they would injure others. It has well been argued that, if the discussion of this subject will be a moral evil, it is the moral duty of every man to avoid it. The exercise of this right, in the way in which it has been exercised, will produce evils which it is impossible for us to estimate. The resolutions of this meeting direct to the simple point whether this house shall be occupied by the contemplated Convention on the 21st instant, not denying them the right to such a place as they may be able to procure, but to deny the expediency, the propriety, the justice, and even the decency, of allowing them to occupy this place. (Cheers.) In view of the feelings and sentiments which have been heretofore expressed in relation to this subject, we have no hesitation in saying, that the resolution of the Common Council was in every respect improper, in contempt of the feelings of the citizens. If the public sentiment of this place sanctions these resolutions, they ought to pass. (Cheers.)

The resolutions were now considered separately.

Upon the first resolution Mr. BEARDSLEY said, The Convention have no right to come here, and the Common Council have no authority to invite them. In point of law this resolution was strictly true. The Common Council can claim no lawful right to it any more than the post-master. (Cheers.)

Several gentlemen here expressed their views of the design in the erection of this building, from which it appeared that it was erected for general town purposes.

SPEECH OF HON. EPHRAIM HART.

Hon. Ephraim Hart said, The discussion of this question has been the means of the destruction of thousands. Those niggers at the south live as much happier than our free negroes, as you can imagine. Look at our free negroes. They have opportunities enough for getting knowledge, and improving their condition, and yet they do not do it. Look at Africa. Are there any mechanics there? The arts and sciences are not cultivated among them. They are the most degraded, barbarous beings on earth. Who does not know that on the Mohawk river a long time ago, the masters were the slaves, instead of the niggers. I travelled through the south last winter. I was disappointed. The attachment between slave and master was as strong as it is here between neighbor and neighbor. (Cheers.) They treat the slaves as kindly as any one would his FAVORITE RACE-HORSE. The slaves live better than we do. They never present them any but good wholesome food. They will not buy pork or beef except it is GOOD. They fare better than our FARMERS do. They are well clothed and well fed. Instead of being lashed, on some plantations I know they have not been struck for many months. Gen. McIntosh has two large plantations, and 2000 slaves. A nigger has not been struck on his plantation for 12 months. Their kitchens are nice and clean. The master would PLAY with them. Their task, any smart fellow can perform in four or five hours. A tract of ground as much as he can cultivate, is given to each one. He can raise cotton and corn for his own use. Look at this and see how many talk about slavery. There seems to be something behind the curtain. Old women looking at the picture of a slave with the blood running down his back, and four or five beating him, and then *crying* (the woman.) (Cheers.) If the abolitionists go on discussing this subject against the wishes of ninety-nine-hundreths of the population, the niggers will be excited to rise and murder their masters, and the white population. I must say that it is one of the most important questions that has ever been agitated. There is something abroad at work. Why is this emissary sent from Europe. They are afraid of this government. The spirit of liberty reigns here. The people there are dissatisfied with the iron rod of despotism by which they are governed. They would like to have us controlled by a king or bashaw. (Cheers.) If the fanatics go on and excite this question, the Union will be dissolved. They are crazy with this question. As for the common council; they have just as good a right to pass a resolution to give them the use of my house, as this. I am one who contributed to the building of this academy. The fanatics are determined to press these consequences, and meddle with other folks' business.

Go to some of the most important cities and they cannot hold a public meeting. These abolitionists never would meet, I believe, if they only would reflect. We do not mean to have a gag-law, but we don't like to have these hypocrites going about under the cloak of religion, setting our houses on fire, and debating in which corner they shall put the firebrand. (Loud cheers, etc.)

A gentleman here said, We allow free discussion—he was hissed down.

The first resolution was now adopted. The cry against the few who opposed it, was, "hustle them out, hustle them out."

The second resolution was also adopted, and also opposed. (Hustle them out, hustle them out.)

The remaining resolutions were adopted in the same manner.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM C. NOYES, ESQ.

Wm. C. Noyes, Esq. said, It is proper to call the attention of the audience to the design we had in view in coming here. It was not to prevent free discussion, or any of the rights which appertain to us as freemen, but the doings of the Common Council, and for no other purpose. Whatever is the state of the slave at the south, it is a matter with which we have nothing to do. They are justified by the Constitution, and we by the Constitution have no right to interfere in this matter. It is a matter of domestic regulation. We are to say whether the Common Council are justifiable in discarding the common views of the citizens. If the abolitionists wish to come here for love or money, I am willing they should; but the public will not allow their public building to be desecrated by such a meeting as they contemplated having. If they will meet in private dwellings, no molestation shall be offered them. (Cheers.)

A gentleman observed that at a former meeting it was recommended to let them alone: and now you resolve to take all lawful and proper measures to prevent the meeting on the 21st; he hoped they would maintain consistency. (He was hissed down.)

Mr. BEARDSLEY said, We do not intend to hunt them about the streets, but take all lawful and proper measures, we wish to repel from this house this moral pestilence. (Cheers.)

A. G. DAUBY said, I will be here on that morning, and do my duty manfully to prevent the meeting, *peaceably if I can, forcibly if I must*. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. SEYMOUR said, Let them come and meet alone, and have their funeral dirge; for it will be their last meeting in this city.

Mr. BEARDSLEY observed, We have a right to come here on Wednesday morning; I regret that I cannot be here. If they thrust themselves upon us and drive out the citizens of Utica, we remember the first law is self-defence. (Cheers.)

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The preceding meetings aroused the just indignation of many of the honest, industrious and sober citizens of Utica, not abolitionists, and who were too well informed to yield up their liberties to gratify the mobocrats. They called a meeting of those favorable to *free discussion*, and the supremacy of the laws. Mark how it was put down! The following is a faithful report:—

Act III.

MEETING FOR FREE DISCUSSION.

The citizens of Utica, not abolitionists, but in favor of free and temperate discussion, convened at the court room in the academy, Tuesday evening, October 20th, 1835. On motion, Bradford Seymour was called to the chair, and Messrs. Bradish, McGregor and Sayre were appointed Secretaries. Dr. Batchelder, Mr. Gilbert and Mr. H. Nash were appointed assistant chairmen.

Mr. H. Bushnell rose and said, If we have not succeeded very well in organizing this meeting, it should be recollected that we are plain mechanics, and not used to this kind of business. I apprehend that when the views and feelings of this meeting are ascertained, they will be one; there will be but one voice here—the sentiments will be one in toto. It is supposed by some that the object of this meeting was to favor the abolitionists. The meeting may rest assured—I state upon all the honor and veracity which I have as a man—that if there are any such secret designs, they are entirely unknown to me. He moved that a committee of five be appointed to draft resolutions to present to this meeting. Dolphus Bennett, Horace M. Hawes, Esq. Truman B. Dixon, Dr. Rathbone, and Mr. Hanning, were the committee.

During the absence of the committee much disturbance occurred, and many irregular motions were made.

The committee soon returned, and reported the following preamble and rasolutions, (by their chairman, Mr. Hawes.)

Whereas freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble, is guarantied by the Constitution and cannot be in any wise abridged without striking a death blow to our liberties: Therefore,

1. Resolved, That we will maintain the supremacy of the laws by all legal and proper means, resisting every attempt to invade said rights, and will on all occasions, and by all just means, protect every member of the American republic in the free, temperate, and undisturbed use of the same. (Hissing and cheers.)

2. Resolved, That for the protection of the constitutional rights of our southern brethern, and the preservation of the Union of these States, we pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

3. Resolved, That we make the like pledge for the protection of every American citizen, whether his condition be high or low—whether he inhabit a humble cottage, or sit in a chair of state.

4. Resolved, That the laws of the land which the people themselves have enacted, are supreme in their authority, and ought to be held sacred and inviolable by every American citizen; and that as we deem the prevalence of this sentiment the only solid basis upon which our free institutions, our property, our lives, or our liberties can rest with safety, we shall look upon any attempt to promulgate a contrary one with an indignant frown.

Report accepted.

Much confusion ensued on the adoption of the first resolution. Mr. Hawes having obtained the floor, said,—

Mr. Chairman, This resolution contemplates every individual as having a right to assemble and express his sentiments and his views on all subjects connected with the welfare of the republic. Those who thus meet, no individual has a right to disturb or molest. This right is guarantied by the Constitution of this country, and one on which the fair fabric of liberty rests. (Cheers and hissing.)

Mr. A. G. Dauby said, Before I came to this meeting, I did not intend to participate in the deliberations. Sir, from what I have seen exhibited here, this meeting cannot with propriety be called of conservative character. A gentleman (Mr. Bushnell) has said they were plain mechanics. Our mechanics do their work well, and I have seen that gentleman execute some *small jobs* very well indeed. (Cheers.) Sir, he knows a hawk from a handsaw. (Loud cheers.) Sir, perhaps he has extricated himself from the quandary which he was in on Saturday evening last, (when Mr. B. could not obtain a hearing. Cheers.) I am connected with the public press, and I would guard its liberties. But it must be used in a decent and becoming manner. Would I have a right to hold up my neighbor to slander and contempt? There would be other restraints than legal—propriety and decency. The Constitution declares that they shall be held responsible for the abuse of that liberty. (Cheers.) We have laws to punish slanderers; *and these, sir, are restrictions upon the liberty of the press*. The gentleman would carry the doctrine to too great an extent. He would carry it to licentiousness; and then, sir, I cannot go with him. (Cheers.) Sir, I concede to every gentleman the right of discussion—the right of free discussion, if you choose; but, sir, along with the legal right of free discussion, there should be moral restraints; and every Christian and patriot will regard these restraints and observe them. He would not disregard the citizens merely because he has a right to do it. No honest and good man will act upon any such principle. Sir, I will not detain this meeting; I got up to speak to the resolution, and these are my objections to it. (Cheers.)

The question on the passage of the first resolution now being called for, a general uproar was made, and the chairman, after some time, being unable to obtain a hearing, left the chair; but soon after, from another part of the room, put the question on a motion to adjourn, which was carried.

After some time a motion was made that this meeting re-organize. Their attention being called by Dr. Batchelder, Mr. A. G. Dauby said, For the safety of the city we should desist; the passage of this resolution will only fan the coals already burning. It is my belief that, on account of those persons who are assembled according to the call, we shall have more disturbance than many people anticipate. There is a feeling entirely hostile to their meeting in this city. I should suggest the propriety of all persons here retiring, hoping that every man friendly to persons on either side of the question, will advise their friends to stay at home to-morrow, as good citizens, and to advise those who assemble here to depart without holding the convention. (Cheers.) The convention which is called is mostly for political purposes; it is ill-timed, for the excitement in this town is in some measure political. The friends of immediate emancipation should all desist from holding their convention now. It is believed that the persons engaged in calling this convention at this time, are doing it designedly for political purposes; being so believed, it is enough to rouse the opposite party in politics, to endeavor to counteract the effect; and I, for one, should advise every one who has an interest in this convention, to use his influence to have that convention desist. It is known to almost every person in this room, that the citizens in this town have said clearly enough, that the design of the emancipationists in organizing a convention is for political matters, and they are opposed to it. They look upon the convention as the democracy do upon the Hartford convention. (Cheers.) We have no right to interfere with those rights which they have by the Constitution. (Cheers and much noise.) It is best for them to desist from organizing and go quietly home. I have travelled much in the southern States, and heard their complaints against northern citizens. They say, with much truth, that the northern citizens first stole the slave from Africa, and sold him to the south. (Cheers, and cries of bravo.) Let the slaves have a State or tract of land, where they can be honorably sustained, and made better citizens than our free negroes are. I would pay my share, and buy a tract of country, and if a missionary or other citizens should go there, I would have them *Lynched*. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hawes rose to speak, but was hissed and clamored down.

Mr. Rutger B. Miller said, I hope to be allowed to give my opinion. The gentleman, it appears, cannot be heard. If the gentleman can get a hearing, I am willing to withdraw—if he cannot, I will speak.

Here Mr. Hawes attempted, but was again hissed down.

Mr. Miller continued, I did not mean to interrupt the gentleman; whether I shall be treated more indulgently I do not know. But I have a desire to declare my sentiments. It does appear to me, sir, that we are convinced of the impolicy, the folly, and perfect absurdity of having this convention convene here to-morrow—and it seems as though its most sanguine adherents must also be convinced of its impolicy. May I venture to give you, and those who called this convention, a word of advice? I have lived here all my lifetime. I am a citizen of Utica, and have as much concern for it as any man. Do you, sir, if you regard the interests of this city, and the welfare of the country, go to the abolitionists, and tell them to desist; and then you will have peace, sir: and if you don't, *you will not*. (Loud cheers.) I simply move, that we go home peaceably, and meet at 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Motion was carried. (Cries of hustle them out, gag them, blow out the lights, &c., and some violence ensued.)

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Act IV.

From the Utica Observer.

Abolition Convention—Meeting of the Citizens—Adjournment of Convention sine die.

At an adjourned meeting of the citizens of Utica, held on the 21st October, 1835, at 9 o'clock A. M., pursuant to a resolution of the meeting held on the 17th instant, Rudolph Snyder, Esq. was appointed President, and John C. Devereux, Ephraim Hart, Ezra S. Barnum, Kellogg Hurlburt, Adam Bowman, Nicholas Smith, and John B. Pease, Vice Presidents; and on motion of D. Wager, Esq. Isaiah Tiffany and William G. Noyes, were chosen Secretaries.

On motion of J. Watson Williams, Esq.,

Resolved that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to report resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting; whereupon the chair appointed Messrs. J. Watson Williams, Chester Hayden, George J. Hopper, Rutger B. Miller and Harvey Barnard such committee.

That committee, after a short recess, by its chairman, J. Watson Williams, reported the following preamble and resolutions, which, on motion, were unanimously adopted:

The citizens of Utica, on the evening of the 17th inst., expressed their decided disapprobation of the vote of the Common Council of the city, granting the use of the court rooms to the State Convention of abolitionists called to assemble here this day; and having determined, by adjourning to this time, to prevent an assemblage of that odious character in a building erected by the voluntary contribution of the said citizens for better and different purposes; and being now assembled, pursuant to that adjournment, deem it a proper occasion to re-affirm the sentiments heretofore frequently expressed by them in relation to the deluded and fanatical efforts of the abolitionists.

We are conscious that the eyes, not only of the people of this State, but of the whole Union, are fixed upon our proceedings. We are expected by our fellow-citizens at large, to prevent if possible, by proper and lawful means, the disgrace which will sully our name, if men, whose measures tend most directly to the disturbance of the public peace, and no less directly to the disruption of the now happy union of these States, are permitted to make our city the scene of their mistimed and noxious deliberations. Our determination and our presence prevent their coming here: and we now solemnly and deliberately remonstrate against their attempting to assemble *elsewhere* within this city. To add force to that remonstrance, we tell them that disposed as we are, as good and peaceful citizens, to discountenance every attempt to disturb the public peace, and determined as we are to take no part in measures of personal violence and insult, we do not hold ourselves nor our reputations responsible for the consequences which may follow their misguided determination to assemble and deliberate upon the question which it is their avowed design to agitate in defiance of the repeated expressions of the public opinion here and elsewhere. Upon them, and them alone, forewarned as they have been of the excited state of feeling here, must rest the blame and the reproach of whatever unlawful and disgraceful events may happen. They are trifling with the deep-rooted opinions of their fellow-citizens, and we must hold them answerable for whatever excitement their rashness may produce, and for all its unhappy consequences. To their own folly and madness must be attributed whatever evil may flow from their truly unchristian and unpatriotic disregard of the duty incumbent upon them as citizens and as men.

Entertaining, as we do most earnestly, an opinion that an adherence to their unwise determination to hold a Convention in defiance of the repeated strong expressions of a vast majority of our fellow-citizens, may lead to unpleasant and perhaps dangerous acts, and sincerely desiring to avoid whatever may affect our quiet or our good repute,—

Therefore, Resolved, That a committee of twenty-five of our fellow-citizens be appointed by the chairman of this meeting, whose duty it shall be to ascertain the proposed time and place of the meeting of the said Convention of abolitionists, and express to the delegates of said Convention who may be present in this city, the opinions entertained here and throughout the State and Union, of the impropriety and rashness of attempting to assemble for the purposes expressed in the call for said Convention; and that the said committee be instructed to urge upon the said delegates the evil consequences which are likely to ensue if they persist in their unwise attempt; to represent to them the excited state of public feeling here, the utter abhorrence in which the doctrines and measures of the abolitionists are held; to warn them to abandon their pernicious movements, and to regard, as becomes all citizens studious of the public quiet and welfare, the frequent remonstrances of the great body of the people of this State and of the Union, against their obnoxious designs.

Resolved, That they also be instructed to inform the said delegates of the number and character of the persons composing this meeting; that it is no riotous assemblage convened for the purpose of encouraging or abetting tumult and disorder; but a meeting of good and reputable citizens of Utica, of all classes and parties, assembled to prevent, if they can do so by their advice and remonstrances, a resort to violence and insult, by urging, before it is too late, upon the delegates of said Convention, to forsake their determination of assembling amongst us at a time when the public feeling is so violently excited against their rash measures.

The President then appointed as the committee mentioned in the first resolution, Messrs. Chester Hayden, Rutger B. Miller, Samuel Beardsley, Ezra Dean, William Tracy, J. Watson Williams, E. A. Wetmore, A. G. Dauby, O. B. Matteson, G. W. Hubbard, J. D. Leland, Benj. Ballou, Augustus Hickcox, A. B. Williams, Julius A. Spencer, Harvey Barnard, T. M. Francis, B. F. Cooper, Isaiah Tiffany, David Wager, T. S. Gold, Alvin Blakesley, Burton Hawley, Jessy Newell, J. H. Dwight.

On motion of E. A. Wetmore, Esq.,

Resolved, That the Hon. Joseph Kirkland, Mayor of the city, be requested to act as chairman of the said committee.

The meeting then took a short *recess* for the purpose of enabling the said committee to discharge the duties incumbent upon them, and in a short time was again organized for the purpose of receiving their report, which was made by Hon. C. Hayden, their chairman, as follows:—

REPORT.

Mr. President—The committee appointed pursuant to the resolution of this meeting to wait on the delegates of the Convention of abolitionists, appointed to be held in this city on this day, and communicate to them the sentiments of this meeting, respectfully report,

That His Honor, the Mayor, named as chairman of your committee, being made acquainted with his appointment, declined from considerations connected with his official character, to act as such; at the same time expressing his approbation of the spirit and temper of the resolutions of this meeting, proposed to be communicated.

That thereupon your committee proceeded to the Bleecker street Presbyterian church where the members of the Convention were already assembled, and finding the doors open, entered and proceeded to read the resolutions, and to make the communication with which they were charged—whereupon, after some little delay the Convention yielded to the pressure of *public opinion* and adjourned without delay.

That when your committee entered the church, the secretary of the Convention, or some person for him, was reading some paper, upon which, however, no question was afterwards taken.

Which report, on motion, was unanimously adopted, and was received with loud and repeated acclamations.

On motion of B. F. Cooper, Esq.,

Resolved, That when this meeting adjourns, they will carry out the triumph of public opinion this day achieved, by refraining entirely from all violence, and discouraging it to the best of their abilities on the part of all others of our fellow-citizens.

On motion of D. Wager, Esq.,

Resolved, That the officers of this meeting be authorized to call a meeting of the citizens of Utica, if they shall deem it necessary, to prevent an assemblage of the abolition Convention, or any other convention of a similar character within the city.

On motion of J. M. Hatch, Esq.,

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the committee of twenty-five citizens, for the able, effectual and proper manner in which they have performed the duties assigned them.

On motion, Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Utica Observer, Oneida Whig, Baptist Register, and Evangelical Magazine.

The meeting was then adjourned.

RUDOLPH SNYDER, President.

ISAAC TIFFANY, W. C. NOYES, } Secretaries.

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Act V.

This important act, which is absolutely essential to the completion of the grand drama, the honorable actors have left unwritten. We shall supply the deficiency.

The "peaceable citizens" having found from the notes of the Convention, which they obtained in the church, in a manner stated elsewhere, that a NEW-YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY HAD BEEN FORMED by the regular adoption of a Constitution, proceeded from their scene of triumph in the court room, to the Temperance House and other hotels. There, in a very "civil and peaceable manner," they ordered the delegates to be turned out of doors, and as they were departing, seized and held their carriage wheels, and poured out upon them abundant volleys of blasphemous oaths. The delegates yielding to this "pressure of public opinion," got off as soon as they could. Forthwith the victory of the *Hon. Chester Hayden* and his committee of *twenty-five*, was celebrated with as many guns. *Extras* from the press of *Augustine G. Dauby*, P. M., were struck off, and sent throughout the land, especially to our "brethren of the south." This triumphant message, with admirable veracity, closed thus:—

THREE O'CLOCK, P. M.

"A considerable share of the abolitionists have, as we learn, gone home—the residue, four or five stage loads, have just departed for Peterboro', Madison county, thirty miles from this city, where we understand they intend assembling to-morrow morning.

"Great praise is due to the citizens of Utica, for the orderly manner in which they have conducted themselves on this most exciting occasion."

The victory needed but one blow more to make it complete. One enemy remained, who might tell *a tale*. The "peaceable citizens" therefore, in the most "orderly manner," proceeded to the printing office of the Standard and Democrat, while the printers were gone to their supper, at 6 o'clock, and threw the tell-tale types into the street!

Thus by the admirable management of a few judges, congressmen, lawyers, post-masters, and influential citizens, was our glorious Union preserved, Utica saved from disgrace, and one of the most dangerous Conventions ever held, brought to an abrupt close, AFTER HAVING FINISHED ITS APPROPRIATE BUSINESS!!!—*Emancipator*.

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."—Matt. vi. 12.

The Tunisians had captured 920 Sardinian slaves, of whom General Eaton thus makes mention:—

"Many have died of grief, and the others linger out a life less tolerable than death. Alas—remorse seizes my whole soul when I reflect, that this is indeed but a copy of the very barbarity which my eyes have seen in my own native country. And yet we boast of liberty and national justice. How frequently in the southern States of my own conntry, have I seen weeping mothers leading the guiltless infant to the sales with as deep anguish as if they led them to the slaughter; and yet felt my bosom tranquil in the view of these aggressions on defenceless humanity. But when I see the same enormities practised upon beings whose complexions and blood claim kindred with my own, I curse the perpetators and weep over the wretched victims of their rapacity. Indeed truth and justice demand from me the confession, that the Christian slaves among the barbarians of Africa, are treated with more humanity, than the African slaves among professing Christians of civilized America; and yet here sensibility bleeds at every pore for the wretches whom fate has doomed to slavery."—*Life of General Eaton*.